

A TRUE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
Roman Catholicks  
DESIGNS  
And Bloody Contrivances for the  
Subversion of the  
Protestant Religion  
IN  
ENGLAND.

And how by the wonderful Providence of God  
their Treasonable and Bloody Conspiracies and  
Designs have been discovered and prevented.

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L O N D O N,

Printed for *John Leigh* at the Sign of the *Blew Bell* by  
*Flying-Horse* Court in *Fleet-Street*. 1678.

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LONDON

Printed for John Lacey at the Sign of the Ship, West by  
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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
Bloody Massacres  
OF THE  
PROTESTANTS  
IN  
FRANCE  
IN THE  
Year of our LORD, 1572.

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WRITTEN  
In Latin by the Famous *HISTORIAN*  
*J. A. AUG. THUANUS*,  
and faithfully rendred into English.

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Printed for John Leigh at the Sign of the Blew-Bell by  
Flying-horse-Court in Fleet-street, 1674.

THE  
HISTORY

Bloody Mafacres

PROTESTANTS

FRANCE

7th of June 1793

By the French Historian  
J. A. G. THOMAS  
and first published in English.

LONDON

Printed for the Author at the New-Shop  
in Pall-mall

A brief Introduction to the History  
of the M A S S A C R E.

**T**HE Lords of the House of Guise, whether through the instigation of the Jesuites, whom they first introduced into France, and highly favoured, or through their emulation \* against the Princes of the Blood who favoured the Reformed Religion, or both, professing themselves great zealots for the Papal Authority, and irreconcilable enemies to the Hugonots, (as they called them of the Reformed Religion) especially after the dissensions grew high between them and the Princes, to whom they doubted not but the Protestants would adhere, as well upon the account of Religion as of the Right of the Princes, having \* by force gotten the young King Charles 9. into their hands, endeavoured by all means to raise in his mind as great prejudice and hatred against the Protestants and the chief men of their

\* V. Discourse,  
sect. 40.

\* V. Disc.  
sect. 41.

## The Introduction.

their party as possible. The young King thus trained up in prejudice against them, and moreover from his youth inured to cruelty, and the slaughters of his Subjects even in cold blood, whereof by the D. of Guise he had been early made a spectator, was scarce out of his minority when he was invited by the Pope, the K. of Spain, and the D. of Savoy to joyn in a holy League for the extirpation of the Hereticks: but being by nature of an Italian genius, and well instructed by his Mother in the policies of her Country, he chose as a more safe and surer way to attempt that rather by secret stratagems and surprize than by open hostility. And therefore at an interview at Bayonne between him with his Mother, and his Sister the Queen of Spain accompanied with the D. of Alva, having by the way had secret conference at Avignon with some of the Pope's trusty Ministers (the Pope having perswaded that meeting, and earnestly pressed the King of Spain himself to be present at it) it was concluded to cut off the chief heads of the Protestants, and then, in imitation of the Sicilian Vespers, to slaughter all the rest to the last man. But the design



## The Introduction.

sign being discovered to the Prince of Conde, Colinius and others of the Nobility, when they perceived such preparations made for the execution of it, as, unless timely prevented, they were likely suddenly to be all destroyed, they put themselves into a posture of defence, where-  
upon broke out a Civil War. But that being contrary to the design to effect the business by stratagem and surprize, it was in few months composed for the present; but shortly after, when the same design was again perceived to be carried on, and the like inevitable danger approached as neer as before, was again renewed in the former manner, and continued somewhat longer and hotter than before. Where-  
upon the King perceiving that the greatest difficulty was to beget and confirm in the Protestant Nobility a trust and confidence in himself, used all arts imaginable to do that; and to that purpose in all solemn manner granting and confirming to the Protestants in France very fair terms of peace and security, he at the same time pretended a resolution to make a war with Spain, entred into a League with the Queen of England, and with the Protestant  
Prin-

V. Disc. sect.

43.

V. Disc. sect.

45.

## The Introduction.

*Princes of Germany; and, which was the principal part of the policy, proposed a match between the Prince of Navar, the first Prince of the Blood, and chief of the Protestant Party, and his Sister Margaret, as that which would not only serve his purpose to beget a confidence in the Protestants of his sincerity and good intention, but moreover afford him a fair opportunity at the solemnization of the Marriage, of effecting his design at last, which had been so often and so long disappointed. All which having managed with wonderful art and dissimulation, he at last obtained what he desired, as in the following History is more particularly related.*



THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
MASSACRES  
OF THE

Protestants at PARIS, and many  
other places in FRANCE, in  
the Year of our Lord, 1572.

THE day of the Nuptials [between *Henn. King Lib. 5.*  
*of Navar and Margaret Sister to the King of*  
*France*] drawing on; which was appointed the  
\* 15 th. of the Kalends of September, the \* *August 18 th.*  
King by Letters solicits Coligni, that he should  
come to Paris, having before given in charge to Claudius Mar-  
cellus Provost of the Merchants, that he should see to it,  
that no disturbance did arise upon Colignie's coming to Pa-  
A. a. 1572. 18. 15.



## The History of

July 5th.

ris. Likewise Proclamation was published the third of the Nones of July, when he was at *Castrum Bononiae*, about two miles from the City, wherein it was forbidden, that any of what condition soever should dare to renew the memory of things past, give occasion of new quarrels, carry pistols, fight duels, draw their swords; especially in the King's retinue at Paris, and in the Suburbs, upon pain of death. But if any difference should arise among the Nobles concerning their Honour or Reputation, they should be bound to bring their plaint to the Duke of Anjou, the King's Deputy throughout the whole Kingdom, and to pray justice of him: if they were of the Commons, they should betake themselves to the High Chancellor de l'Hospital: if it shall happen among those that shall not be in the Court, but in Paris, they shall go before the ordinary Magistrate. It was also provided by the same Proclamation, that those who were not of the Courts of any of the Princes or Nobles, or of the Retinue of others, or were not detained upon some necessary business, but were of uncertain abode and habitation about Paris or the Suburbs, should depart from the Court & City within 24 hours after the publication of this Edict, upon the same pain of death. This was published for three days together, with the sound of Trumpet in the Court, and through the City, and it was ordered that the publication should be repeated week by week upon the Sabbath-day. Also there was adjoyned to the guards of the King's body for his greater security, a guard of 400 choice Souldiers; all which *Coligni* full of confidence and good assurance so interpreted, as if the King desirous of the publick Peace, did (only) prepare a contrary strength against those which were seditious, and movers of troubles. Therefore he comes into the City, though many were greatly disturbed at it: to whom, when they importunately dehorted him both by letter and word of mouth, he, after he had given them thanks, answered in one word; "That he was resolved  
"now that Peace was concluded, and things past forgotten,  
"to rely upon the faith of the King, and that he had rather  
"be dragged through the streets of Paris, than to take up  
"Civil Arms again.

2. Among



*the Parisian Massacre.*

3

2. Among other letters there was one brought to him being now come to Paris, written very smartly after this manner. Remember that it is an established Decree of the Papists, upon the account of Religion, and confirmed by the authority of Councils, that Faith is not to be kept with hereticks; in the number of which Protestants are accounted. Remember also that Protestants upon the account of the former Wars, do lie under an eternal odium; so that it is not to be doubted but this is the Queens resolution, that Protestants be rooted out by any means whatsoever. Add to this that it cannot be, but that a woman that is a stranger, and an Italian, descended of the race of the Popes, (whom they oppose) and of a Florentine and guileful nature, should study all extremities against her enemies. Consider moreover in what School the King was educated, in which he drew in with his milk under his good Tutors this Doctrine; that he should make it a sport to swear and forswear, to use the name of God profanely, to defile himself with Whoredomes and Adulteries, to dissemble his Faith, Religion, Counsels, to set his countenance (according to occasion). And that he might be accustomed to the effusion of the blood of his Subjects, he was taught from his childhood to behold the slaughters and butcheries of \* beasts: that he is settled in this persuasion to suffer no Religion in his Kingdom but that which may uphold his state, (according to the opinion of his Master Machiavel) otherwise it would never be at Peace, so long as two Religions flourished in it, and that it was instilled into his ears that the Protestants did decree to spoil him of his Life and Empire. And therefore he would never suffer the Protestants who had once, whether upon a just or unjust cause, taken up Arms against him, to enjoy the benefit of his Edict, but that he would with Arms revenge what was done with Arms against him; nor would he look upon himself obliged to keep his Covenants which he had entred into with his armed Subjects. These are the Arts of Princes, the Elements of Policy, the Arcana Imperii. So Commodus of old commanded Julian, whom he owned and embraced as his Father, to be slain. Thus

\* And of men  
also, v. l. 24.  
p. 275.

‘Antonius Caracalla, under pretence of mustering, slew the  
 ‘prime youth of the City. So Lysander cut the throats of  
 ‘eight hundred Milesians called together under pretence of  
 ‘friendship and society. So Sergius Galba raged upon six thou-  
 ‘sand Spaniards; and lately by the command of Antonius  
 ‘Spinola, the chief men of the Isle of Corsica were called to-  
 ‘gether to a Feast, and slain. In our memory did Christiern  
 ‘a King of a barbarous nature use the same arts in the Massa-  
 ‘cre of Stockholm. So heretofore Charles 7, though recon-  
 ‘ciled to the Duke of Burgundy, yet abstained not from kil-  
 ‘ling him, though he begged for his life. Nor are the discour-  
 ‘ses that the King lately had with his mother at Blois un-  
 ‘known. For when in a jocular manner profanely using, as  
 ‘his custom is, the name of God, he asked her whether he  
 ‘had not acted his part handsomely at the coming of the  
 ‘Queen of Navar? the Queen answered that he had begun  
 ‘well, but these beginnings would little advantage him unless  
 ‘he proceeded; But I, said he, with often repeated oaths, will  
 ‘bring them all into your toils. From these words, the truth  
 ‘whereof you may be assured of, you ought to take coun-  
 ‘sel, and if you are wise get out of the City, and so from the  
 ‘Court, as from a most filthy sink, with all the speed as may  
 ‘be.

3. Coligni having read this letter, though he was not a lit-  
 tle troubled at it, yet that he might not seem altogether to  
 neglect the admonitions and intreaties of his friends, made  
 answer; ‘That there was no place left for these suspicions,  
 ‘that he could never perswade himself that so great perfidi-  
 ‘ousness could enter into so good a King, than whom France  
 ‘for this many years never had a better. That Anjou indeed  
 ‘was more averse to the Protestant party, but that hatred  
 ‘would now cease, even out of respect to the affinity con-  
 ‘tracted with the King of Navar. For the rest, the League  
 ‘entred into with England, and that which the King was  
 ‘now making with the Protestant Princes of the Empire, did  
 ‘sufficiently shew how he stood affected to the Protestants,  
 ‘when as he would have one of the Sons of the Elector Pa-  
 ‘latine in his retinue: and some one of the English Nobles,

25. Leicester or Burgleii, who were most forward for Religion. Moreover he had given his Faith to the Prince of Orange and Nassau his Brother, concerning aids against the Spaniards, and that a great supply was preparing in the place of those who were routed under Jendis their leader. That John Galeacius Fulgosi, who lately returned from Florence, did assure them, that Cosmus would lend the King two hundred thousand Aurei towards that War. That the King's Ambassador did carefully pry into the counsels of the Duke of Alva, and daily acquaint the King with them. That this he knew every day from the King. That the Navy that Philip Strossy, and Polinius Garda do command at Broage, and upon the Coasts of Poictou was not prepared to any other use but to disturb the Spanish Fleet, which being done, it shall go to help the Prince of Orange at Flushing. As for himself and his own particular safety, all might be secure of that; for that he through the King's means is reconciled to the Guises, each engaging their Faith to the King, that they would neither of them hereafter impeach one the other. Lastly, that the King did all he could to make Peace at home and War abroad, and that he might transfer the War into the Low-Countreys, and against the Spaniards. Wherefore he prayed the Author of the writing, and others that are of his mind, that they would no more with these suspicions trouble his mind, which was taken up with more weighty businesses, and better designs, but rather that they would, joyning their prayers with his, beg of God that he would prosper things so well begun, and bring them at last to an happy end, for the good of the Church and Kingdom.

4. The same things were written to Coligni from the Rebels, which he did in as friendly manner take off, with all moderation and constancy. Therefore when they could not divert him from that mind, they set upon the King of Navar with Letters dated 6 of the Eids of July, in which they dehort him upon the same accounts, that he should take care of himself, and not go to Paris. He was then at the Nuptials of Henricus Condæus his Uncle's Son, and Mary of Cleve

July 10th.

† Vid. l. 50.  
p. 787.

his



\* Vid. l. 35.  
p. 559.

his near Kinswoman, which were celebrated at Blandia a Castle of Jo. Roan Marchioness of Rotelin, who was Mother to Frances of Aurleans \* last Wife to Lewis of Conde, within the jurisdiction of Melun. Therefore he despising the warnings of his Friends, the Nuptials of the Prince of Conde being finished, comes to Paris with him, and a great retinue of Protestants in the beginning of August, where new delays are purposely invented by the Queen; for whereas at first there was hope given of favour to be obtained from the Pope by the Cardinal of Lorain, who was then at Rome, to remove the obstacle of proximity and difference in Religion, a Breve was brought to Charles Cardinal of Burbon, designed to finish the business; wherewith notwithstanding he said he he was not satisfied: therefore he desired another more full might be sent from Rome, wherein it might be more amply provided for him. Therefore the King laid the fault of the delay upon the Cardinal of Burbon, who he said, by way of scorn, was tied up by superstition, and I know not what scruples of conscience; and by that means great injury was done to his Margarine (so he called his Sister) who bore it very impatiently to have the fruit of her so long expected joy deferred.

5. When in the mean time Coligni pressed that the publick proclaiming of the Low-Country War so often deliberated about, and approved of, and now whether he would or not begun, might be no longer deferred, he again made delays, and declined it, and often replied to him, importuning him, that he had not any Counsellor or Officer of his Army to whose faithfulness, industry and diligence he could commit so great an affair. For some were wholly addicted to the party of the Guises; others had other faults of their own: of his Secretaries there was only Bernardus Fiza whom he could entrust with this secret. At last it was agreed that the affair should be committed to Momorancy and Fiza; with which shews of unfeigned familiarity, as he took it, and ingenuous freedom, Coligni being deceived, would not persuade himself any thing otherwise than of truly Kingly virtue, or think hardly of the most excellent King.

6. Amidst



6. Amidst these delays (those) things, as it should seem, being altogether composed, about which before there was a difference among the Conspirators, there came Letters by secret comport from the King's Ambassador with the Pope, in which the King is certified of a dispensation now granted, and shortly to be sent from Rome by Post, wherein the scrupulous conscience of Burbon was fully satisfied: therefore when, upon the 16<sup>th</sup>. of the Kalends of September, they *August 17<sup>th</sup>.* were contrived by Cardinal Borbon in the Louvre, the next day after the Nuptials were celebrated.

An high Scaffold is erected before the gates of the great Church, by which they descended by stairs unto a lower Scaffold, which being on every side railed in to keep off the multitude, did lead through the Church to the inner apartment commonly called the Chore. From thence another Scaffold encompassed with rails did receive those that went out of the Chore toward the left gate, which reached to the Bishop's Palace; thither came out of the Louvre with all Royal Pomp, and most magnificent shew, the King, the Queen-Mother, with the Brethren the Dukes of Anjou and Alanson, the Guises, the Colonels of the Horse, the chief Peers of the Kingdom leading along the Bride, who lodged that night in the Bishop's Palace. And from the other part, the King of Navar, with the Princes of Conde and Contie his Cousins, Coligni Admiral of the Sea, Francis Count de la Roche-foucault, and a great company of the Protestant Nobles, who came together out of all Provinces of the Kingdom.

When the King had ascended to that higher Scaffold, the Ceremonies in manner as was agreed being performed by Cardinal Borbon, the King and Navar with his Party came by the lower Scaffold into the Chore, where having placed his Wife before the great Altar to hear Mass, he with Coligni and Count de la Roche-foucault, and the other Nobles of his Retinue went into the Bishop's Palace by the contrary door afore-mentioned; from whence after Mass was ended, being recalled by D'Anvil, he came into the Chore again, and kissing his new Bride before the King, Queen, and the Brethren, when they had entertained one another some little while with discourse,

discourse, they returned into the Bishop's Palace, where dinner was provided. And I well remember when as Mass being ended, I was admitted through the rails into the Chœur, and standing nigh to Coligni, while I fixed my eyes upon him, and curiously observed him, I heard him say, discoursing with d'Anville, and looking up to the Ensigns fastned up and down, and the sad Monuments of the Battel of Bassac and Moncountour, "That ere long these being taken down, others more pleasing should be set up in their places: which words, then he meant of the Low-Country War, which as he thought was now resolved upon, others interpreted as though he had thoughts of a new Civil War, which he so much abhorred.

7. After Dinner they went into the Palace, where a royal Supper was prepared, and all orders of the City and the Senate, together with the Courts of Accounts, Customs and Treasury are entertained according as is usual in a most sumptuous manner: a short time was spent in dancing; afterwards *interludes* were brought in. The representation of three Rocks silvered over, upon which the three Brethren, the King, the Duke of Anjou, and Duke of Alanson did sit, and seven more, upon which Gods and Sea-monsters were set, which followed, being drawn along in Coaches, and were brought through the great Hall of the Palace, which was divided by a triumphal arch in the middle, and when they made a stand, some choice Musicians recited Verses in their own Tongue, composed by the best of their Poets. And thus a great part of the night being spent in interludes, they afterwards betook themselves to their rest.

The next day being not able to rise before the Sun was got high, at three a clock after-noon they went to dinner at the Duke of Anjou's Palace, where after dancing they went toward the evening to the Louvre.

The day following being *Wednesday*, running at Tilt, and *interludes* which had been a long while in preparing, were exhibited at the Cardinal Bourbon's Palace: there were represented upon the right hand the Mansions of the blessed, and a little below the Elysian-fields possessed by 12 Nymphs, on  
the

### *the Parisian Massacre.*

the other side on the left-hand was represented Hell flaming with fire and brimstone, and full of sprights and frightful ghosts. The Brethren, the King, the Duke of Anjou, and the Duke of Alanfon defended Paradise as they called it: which many Knights Errant seeking to break into, of whom Navar was Captain; they were every one of them repulsed, and at last thrown headlong down into Hell. Then Mercury riding upon a Cock, and together with him Cupid came sliding down to the defendants, and then after much discourse with them returned into Heaven. Then the three defendants came to the Nymphs wandring in the pleasant green fields, and led them into the middle of the Hall, where the Spectators were with much pleasure entertained with new Dances about the Fountain for a full hour. Then the defendants being prevailed upon by their entreaties, the Knights Errant that were shut up in Hell were released; who presently in a confused skirmish break their spears: at last the Gunpowder that was laid by pipes about the Fountain being fired, fire broak forth with a great noise, and consumed all their Scenes, and so all departed.

This shew was variously interpreted, for that the assailants who were most of them Protestants, did in vain attempt to get into the seats of the blessed, and were afterwards thrust down into Hell: for so they put a mockery upon the Protestants, and others did bode that it portended some mischief. However, certain it is, that *Francis E. of Momorancy*, whether suspecting some evil, or being indisposed by reason of the tossing of the Sea, as lately returned from his Ambassy in England, having obtained leave of the King, *went to Chantilly* for his healths sake; leaving in the Court Henry d'Anville, Carolus Meruvius, and Gulielmus Thoræus (his) Brethren, and that very happily for that most Illustrious Family: for it was the general opinion, that the plotters of the following Massacre would have comprehended them all in this conspiracy, had they not feared that Momorancy, who was now absent, would have revenged it.

The next day being *Thursday*, there was running at *Tilts* held in the Court-yard of the Louvre, in which on the one



side the King and his Brethren, together with the Duke of Guise, and the Duke of Aumale in the habit of Amazons; and on the other side the King of Navar, with his party in Turkish habits, contended with their launces; Scaffolds being set up on either side, from which the Queen-Mother, the King's Wife, Lorain, and all the Court-Ladies beheld the sports.

8. Two days before the Counsel concerning the Massacre being not yet concluded, *the King* with great shew of kindness *bespeaks Coligni* (thus). 'You know, Father, (so he called him upon the account of his age and honour) what you undertook to me, that you would offer no injury, so long as you are at Court, to the Guises: and they again engaged, that they, as they ought, would behave themselves toward you and yours honourably and modestly. I repose very great trust in your words, but I have not the like confidence in their promises. For, besides that I know the Guises do by all means seek revenge, I know their daring and haughty nature, and in what favour they are with the people of Paris. It would be a very great grief to me, if they who under pretence of coming to the Marriage, have brought with them a great party of souldiers well appointed, should attempt any thing to your hurt; for that would be an injury to my self: Therefore, if you think it expedient, I think it convenient, *that the Regiment of the Guards be drawn into the City* under these Commanders, (then he named those who were no way suspected), who, if any turbulent persons attempt any thing, may be ready at hand to secure the publick Peace.

To such friendly discourse Coligni easily yielded his assent out of a desire of domestick Peace, and being already overcome by the Court-flatteries: therefore a Regiment is drawn within the walls, without any suspicion of the Protestants.

\* *Lib. 51.* He mentions a former Con-

9. This being done, *they enter into Counsel* \* again, and after some debate the thing was left undetermined, their opinions consultation between the Queen-Mother, Anjou, Cardinal Lorain, Aumale, Guise, Birage, and others in the same Chamber, wherein Guise was afterwards by the King's Command killed, and afterwards in the same buildings where the King himself *Henr. 3.* here called Anjou, was murdered by a Fryer.



varying according to the condition of places, and of the persons admitted to the Council. For thus it was discoursed *before the King*, with whom were in Council the Queen-Mother, the Duke of Anjou, and others.

‘ There are *two factions* in the Kingdom; one of the Momorancies, to whom the Colignies were formerly added, but now upon the account of Religion, by which they have engaged many (to them), they constitute *a new faction*. The other is of the Guises: nor will France ever be quiet, or that Majesty that is taken from Kings by the Civil Wars thence arising, ever be restored till the chief of their Heads who disturb the most flourishing Empire, and the publick Peace, be stricken off. They, by the troubles of the Kingdom, have grown to so great Power, that they cannot be taken away at the same time: they are *severally to be taken off, and set one against the other*, that they may destroy one another. Coligni must be begun with who only survives of his Family, who being taken out of the way, it would much weaken the Momorancies, who lie under so great an odium upon the account of their joyning with Coligni. But this is an unworthy thing, and not to be suffered by you, (said they, directing their discourse to the King), that a man whom only Nobility commends, one that is advanced to honour by the favour of Kings, now grown burdensom to the Nobility, equal to Princes in honour, grievous to your self, should come to that height of madness and boldness, that he should count it a sport to mock at Royal Majesty, and every day at his own lust to raise Wars in the Kingdom. Certainly his madness is above all things by you, if you be indeed King, to be restrained, that by his example all may learn to bear their fortunes decently, and use them modestly. Nor only shall the faction of the Momorances be broken by his death, but the power of the Protestants shall be over-turned: of which, when he is the very heart and soul, in him alone the Protestants seem to live, and he being dead, they will fall with him. This is not only useful, but necessary for settling the publick Peace, when as experience doth shew, that as one house can-

V. Dav. p 368,  
370. The opi-  
nion of Alber-  
to Gondi  
Coun. of Retz.

‘not keep two Dogs, nor one tree relieve two Parrots, so one  
‘and the same Kingdom cannot bear two Religions. This  
‘may be done without danger or blame, if some cut-throat,  
‘as there are enough of them to be had, be suborned to take  
‘away the life of Coligni, encouraged by some present re-  
‘ward, and hopes of future; who having done the thing,  
‘may make his escape by the help of a light horse prepared  
‘for that purpose. For then, without doubt, the Protestants,  
‘who are very numerous in the City, supposing it to be done  
‘by the Guises, will presently, as you know they are a furious  
‘sort of people, take up Arms, and setting upon the Guisians,  
‘they shall easily be cut off by their greater numbers; (for  
‘the people of Paris are much addicted to them), and per-  
‘haps the Momorances so hateful to the Parisians, shall be in-  
‘volved in the same tumult. But if the thing proceed not  
‘so far, yet at least the blame of the fact, from which you  
‘shall receive great advantage, shall be translated from you  
‘upon the Guisians, (as bearing yet in memory the murder  
‘of their Father) whom, having destroyed their Rivals, you  
‘shall soon reduce into good order. This thing being done,  
‘you shall forthwith be able to determine concerning the  
‘chief leaders of the Protestants, whom you have in your  
‘power, who, no doubt, will return to their old Religion,  
‘and due allegiance to you when evil Counsellors shall be re-  
‘moved.

And when it was debated in the *Queens Council* among  
those that were to be trusted, their discourse went further, that  
not only the Momorances with Coligni should be taken off,  
but that the Guisians should at some fit opportunity be slain,  
as those whom the Queen ought in no wise to trust or spare,  
being heretofore grievously and often offended by her. For  
so the Counsellors ordered the matter, if the Protestants  
should go about to revenge the death of Coligni, they  
and the Momorances should in the conflict be oppres-  
sed by the people, as being inferior in strength, but not  
without great loss to the adversaries; whom the King having  
drawn a great number of Souldiers, which he had then at his  
command, into the Louvre, sitting as a spectator, might at  
last

last set upon, being broken, and weakened by fighting, and as though they had taken Arms without his command, and by way of sedition, might command them all to be slain together with the Nobles, as taking this or that party: for whiles they remained safe, there would be no end of murmurs and complaints against the Queen; whom the seditious cry out upon as a stranger, and so fit to be removed from the Government of the Kingdom.

10. These were their divers counsels according to the diversity of the persons, but they all agreed in the executing of the matter. The Duke of Guise being at last taken into the privy of the fact, though otherwise he knew nothing of the other Counsels, an *Assasine* was sought for, and presently *Morevell* appears, being as it seemed provided for that purpose; who having formerly undertaken to do such a villany, he fled into the Camp of the Protestants, but being affrighted by the danger of it, lest he should seem to have done nothing, he treacherously slew *Arthurus Valdræus Moius*, and from that time often changing his lodgings, he concealed himself in the house of the Guises, in which Family he was brought up from a child. An house was also pitched upon in the Cloyster of St. German Auxerrois, as they call it, the house of Peter Pila Villemur, who had formerly been Tutor to the Duke of Guise himself; by which *Coligni* returning home, must needs pass.

*Monsieur de  
Muy at the  
siege of Niort.  
Dav. p. 376.*

Therefore upon the *Friday*, *Coligni* having dispatched much business in the King's Council, where *Anjou* was present, and composed a difference between *Antonius*, *Marafinus*, *Guerchius* and *Tiangius*, chief of the Nobility of the Burgundians, forward men; he attended upon the King to the next Tennis-Court, from whence, after a promise from the King, the Duke of Guise and *Teligny*, betaking himself homeward, walking on foot by the house of Villemur, going gently along, and reading a Petition which was then by chance presented to him, *Morevel* discharging a Musquet from a window that had a linen Curtain drawn before it, he was shot with a brace of bullets, whereof one struck off the forefinger of his right-hand, and the other wounded him more dan-



dangerously in his left-arm, while Guerchius was upon his right-hand, and Rochus, Sorbæus, Prunæus upon his left, who, as likewise all that were there, were exceedingly astonished at what was done.

But he with a countenance not disturbed, only shewed them the house whence the bullets came, and presently commands Armanus, Claromontius, Pilius, and Franciscus Movinius, that they should go the King, and in his name acquaint him with what was done: then binding up his arm, and leaning upon his domesticks, he came on foot to his lodging, which was not far off: and when he was advised by one of his company that he should see to it, whether the bullets wherewith he was wounded were not poisoned, he answered, that nothing should befall him but what was ordered by God.

Forthwith they force the house whence the shot proceeded, and breaking open the dores, found the Musquet in a lower room. A young maid and a page that were found there, were taken and bound; for Morevel at a back-dore getting upon his horse, was already fled to St. Antony's Gate, where changing his horse, and mounting another that was ready for that purpose, he made his escape.

11. *The King receiving the news*, as if he had been astonished at an unexpected accident, "Shall I never, saith he, be at quiet? and must new troubles alwaies arise from day to day? and then throwing his rocket upon the ground, he withdrew into the inner Castle: Guise leaving the Tennis-Court, departed another way.

Here all were full of wonder, and many were disturbed, being troubled in their minds to think what those things would come to. Many, even of those who bare no great good will to Coligny, detested the fact. But *Navar and Conde presently repair to him*, and when as in their presence he was handled by the Chirurgions, he was heard amidst all his pain to say (only) this. Is this the goodly reconciliation that the King did undertake for? then turning to Moore, Chaplain to the late Queen of Navar, he pronounced these words, "Ah my Brother, now I know I am beloved of God,  
for



“for that I have received these wounds for his most holy  
“Names sake. God grant I may never forget his accustomed  
“mercies towards me. But when Ambrosius Paræus the  
King’s Chirurgion told him that the Gangreen growing on,  
his finger must be cut off, and did attempt to do it with an  
instrument that had no good edge, though he was forced to  
open and shut the shears three times, yet he gave no sign of  
sense of his most sharp pain: when he came to his left arm  
Merlin Conde’s Chaplain came in, who when he began to  
comfort him out of the holy Scriptures, he brake out into  
these words; “My God, forsake me not in these troubles,  
“nor cease from thy accustomed mercies towards me. Then  
he whispered in the ear to one who held up his arm, that he  
should deliver to Merlin an hundred Aurei to be distributed to  
the poor of the Church of Paris: this I have often heard Pa-  
ræus speak of, almost in the same words.

Thence *Navar and Conde go to the King*; and complain of  
the indignity of the fact; and since they and theirs could not  
be secure at Paris, they desire leave to depart. Upon this the  
King aggravating the matter to the highest, and adding deeper  
oaths than before, promised that he would take such revenge  
upon the Assasine, the authors and abettors of this fact, as  
should satisfy Coligny and his friends, and should be an exam-  
ple to others for the future: that what was done was as great  
a grief to him as to any, but since what was done could not  
be undone, he would take the greatest care that might be for a  
remedy, and would make all men understand that Coligny  
had the wound, but he had the smart: and that they might  
be eye-witnesses of this thing, he desires them that they would  
not depart out of Paris.

And he discoursing thus, Queen Katharine, who was then  
present, seconded, and saith, “The affront was offered to the  
“King, not to Coligny; and if this villany should not be  
“punished, it would ere long come to that pass, that they  
“would even dare to set upon the King himself in his house:  
“therefore all means are to be used most sharply to revenge  
“so great a villany. These words being spoken with much  
heat, and seeming indignation, the minds of Navar and Con-  
de

de were somewhat appeased, who did not believe there was any dissimulation; so that there was not a word more made of their departure out of the City.

Presently *some were sent to pursue the Affasine*, though none as yet knew who he was. All the gates of the City are shut up till search had been made, except two, by which provision was brought in, and even they were kept by a guard appointed by the King. In the mean while the maid and the boy that were taken in Villemur's house, who was then from home, were examined a-part by Christopher Thuanus, and Bernardus Prevotius Morfanus, Presidents of the Court, and James Viole a Senator: and the maid confessed that a few daies since Villarius Challius, a servant of the Guises, brought a Souldier to that house, and commended him to her, as if he had been the Master of the house, being a very near friend and familiar acquaintance of his, and that therefore he made use, as long as he was there, of Villemur's Chamber and Bed; but what his name was he did industriously conceal. The boy who had served the Affasine but a few days, said he was sent by his Master, (who dissembled his name, and called himself sometimes Bolland, sometimes Bondol the King's Archer) in the morning to Challius, to desire him from him, that he would have the horses in readiness, which he promised him. From all which discoveries it was yet uncertain who was the Affasine: but when as they both agreed in Challius, it was given in charge to Gaspar Castræus Naucaus, Captain of the King's Guard, that he should seize him, and bring him forth to examination. Then Letters are written to the Governors of the Provinces by the King, in which he detested the fact, and commanded that they should make it their business that all might understand that it did highly grieve him, and that ere long there should be given a most severe example of so great a crime.

In the mean while, *d'Anville, Cossens and Villarius Marshals, visiting Coligny* about noon, saluted him in most friendly manner, and told him that that they did not come thither to exhort him to patience and fortitude: "For that, say they, these virtues are as it were natural to thee; thou hast been wont

"wont to admonish others, and therefore wilt not be wanting  
 "to thy self. *He answering with a smiling countenance, said,*  
 "I speak truly, and from my heart, death doth nothing af-  
 "fright me. I am ready most willingly to render to God  
 "that spirit which I have received from him, whensoever he  
 "shall require it. But I do greatly desire an opportunity to  
 "confer with the King before I depart this life; for I have  
 "some things to acquaint him with, which concern both  
 "him, and the safety and honour of the Kingdom, which I  
 "am well assured none of you dares carry to him. Then  
 d'Anville told him he would willingly acquaint the King  
 with that (his desire); and having so said, he with Villari-  
 us and Teligny departed, leaving Cossæus there, to whom  
 Coligny said, Do you remember what I said to you a few  
 hours since? be wise, and take heed to your self. What he  
 meant by these words was not understood by all.

12. But when *the King* knew by d'Anville and Teligny  
 his desire, he in shew seemed not unwilling to *come to him*  
 about the afternoon. There came together with him the  
 Queen-Mother, with the Brethren, Anjou and Alanfon, Car-  
 dinal Borbon, Monpensser, Nevers, Cossæus and Tavianus,  
 Villarius, Meruvius, Thoreus, Momorancies Brethren, Mar-  
 shals, Naucæus and Radesianus. These being let in, the rest  
 are by the King's command shut out, except Teligny and a  
 Gentleman of the Family, who stood at the Chamber-door;  
 here it is published in writing, that some secrets were disco-  
 vered to the King by Coligny, but others deny it, and say that  
 the discovery of this secret was purposely hindered by the  
 Queen, lest the King, whose nature she began to distrust, be-  
 ing mollified, and perswaded by the word of Coligny, should  
 change his resolution. That which was openly heard was  
 this, when Coligny gave the King thanks, the King with a  
 sad and troubled countenance did earnestly enquire of his  
 state, and did protest, that what had happened to him was a  
 very great grief to him. 'The wound is thine, said he, but  
 'the pain is mine. But I swear (then according to his man-  
 'ner he swore) I will so severely revenge this injury, that the  
 'memory of it shall never be blotted out of the minds of  
 Cc 'men.



'men. To this *Caligny answered*, God is my witness, before  
 'whose tribunal I now seem (ready) to stand, that I have been  
 'all my life long most loyal and faithful to your Majesty, and  
 'I always, and with all my heart, desired that your Kingdom  
 'might be most flourishing and peaceable. And yet I am not  
 'ignorant that there have been some who have called me  
 'Traytor, and Rebel, and a perturber of our Kingdom; but I  
 'trust, God will some time or other judg between me & them,  
 'before whom I am ready, if it be his pleasure that I should at  
 'this time depart out of this life, to give an account of my  
 'faith and observance towards you. Moreover, whereas I  
 'have been advanced by Henry your Father to many and  
 'great honours which your Majesty hath been pleased to con-  
 'firm to me; I cannot but according to that faith and love  
 'that I have for your affairs, desire that you would not let  
 'slip so notable an opportunity of an happy enterprize, espe-  
 'cially now that the breach is already made, and there are ma-  
 'ny tokens and pledges of your mind, as to the Belgick Ex-  
 'pedition; so as if the matter now begun be relinquished,  
 'it will be very dangerous to your Kingdom. Is it not a  
 'most unworthy thing that an egg cannot be moved in your  
 'Privy Council, but presently almost before it be turned, a  
 'messenger runneth and reporteth it to the Duke of *Alva*?  
 'Is it not a most base thing that 300 either Gentlemen or gal-  
 'lant soldiers taken in *Jenlis* his fight, should by the command  
 'of *Alva* either be hanged, or undergo some other kind of  
 'punishment? which thing I do yet perceive to be here in the  
 'Court a matter of jesting and laughing. A third thing  
 'which I did desire to discourse with your Majesty about, is  
 'the contempt of the Pacificatory Edict offered by those that  
 'are in place of Jurisdiction, who do in most grievous man-  
 'ner daily violate the faith that was given by you; of which  
 'faith and oath even foreign Princes are witnesses. But as I  
 'have often told your Majesty and the Queen-Mother, I do  
 'not think there is any surer way of preserving peace and pub-  
 'lick tranquility, than by a religious and severe observance of  
 'the Edicts. But they are so contemned, that of late at  
 'Troyes there was an assault made upon the servants of the  
 'wife



‘wife of the Prince of Conde: and when as she, according  
 ‘to the form of your Edict, had chosen a certain Village cal-  
 ‘led Insula, in which our Religion should be exercised, yet  
 ‘notwithstanding, of late, a certain man, and a nurse, and an  
 ‘infant, that was brought to the holy font, were slain upon  
 ‘the way whiles they were returning from a Sermon that was  
 ‘made in that place. And this happened a little before the *August 10th.*  
 ‘4th. Eid, 6 til.

To this *the King answered.* ‘I esteem thee, my Father, as  
 ‘I have often assured thee for a valiant and faithful person,  
 ‘and one that is most careful for my honour. Lastly, I look  
 ‘upon thee as one of the chiefest and most valiant Comman-  
 ‘ders of my Kingdom; nor if I had any other opinion of  
 ‘thee, would I have done what I have for thee. As for the  
 ‘Edict which I lately issued out, I have always wished, and do  
 ‘wish that it may be most diligently observed. And to that  
 ‘purpose I have taken care that some choice persons should  
 ‘be sent through the Provinces, that may make this their bu-  
 ‘siness; whom if thou doest suspect, others shall be sent in  
 ‘their places; (for in discourse he had said he did suspect  
 ‘them who had condemned him to death, and hanging, and  
 ‘set a price of fifty thousand Aurei upon his head). Then,  
 ‘that he might break off this discourse, he added, ‘I see, my  
 ‘Father, that you speak earnestly, and that earnestness may  
 ‘hurt both you and your wounds. I will take care of this  
 ‘affair, (and again, swearing by the name of God), ‘I do af-  
 ‘sure you that I will most severely revenge this injury upon  
 ‘the Authors of it, as if it were offered to my self. Then he,  
 ‘there is not need of any great search for the Author of the  
 ‘fact, nor are the discoveries already made very doubtful. But  
 ‘it is enough, and upon that account, in the most humble man-  
 ‘ner that I can, I give your Majesty thanks that you are plea-  
 ‘sed graciously to promise me to do me right.

Then the King taking aside that Gentleman of the house-  
 hold that stood at the dore, commanded him to shew him the  
 bullet wherewith Coligny was wounded, and which was ta-  
 ken out of the wound, that he might look upon it. It was  
 a brazen one: then he enquired of him, first, whether much

bloud flowed out of the wound ; next, whether Coligny did signify the grievous pains he felt by out-cries and complaints. And having commended his constancy, and the greatness of his mind, he commanded that Gentleman that he should not depart from him.

These things passed for about the space of an hour in the Chamber of Coligny : the King drawing out the time with wandring discourses, and that he might put off the business of the Belgick War, to the mention of which, it is observed that he made no answer. Among these discourses Radefianus spoke to a friend of Coligny's concerning the removing him into the Castle of the Louvre for his greater security, if the people should tumultuate ; which thing the King himself did sometime repeat, which almost all did interpret as an argument of the King's care of the health of Coligny. But when the Physitians, and chiefly Francis Mazilles the King's chief Physitian, answered there was danger, if his body should be shaken in the carrying whiles his wounds were fresh, he would by no means be removed.

13. After the King departed, *the Nobles of the Protestant party take counsel together*, and John of Ferriers Vidame of Chartres, in the presence of Navar and Conde, conjecturing what was indeed the matter, said that the Tragedy was begun by the wound of Coligny, but would end in the bloud of them all. Therefore he thought it most safe, that without delay they should depart the City : he produced testimonies and tokens for his opinion from the rumors that were spread abroad ; for it was heard by many, when upon the day of Marriage the Protestants went out of the Church that they might not engage in worship ; the Papists said, by way of mirth, that within a few days they should hear Mass. Also it was openly spoken in discourse by the chief of the City, that at that Marriage should be poured out more bloud than wine. That one of the Protestant Nobles was advised by the president of the Senate, that he should with all his family betake himself for some days into the Country. Besides these things, the counsel of Johannes Monlucius Bishop of Valence (when he was going Ambassador into Poland) given

to Roch four-cault, that he would not suffer himself to be intoxicated, and turned about by the smoke and unwonted favour of the Court, which deservedly ought to be suspected by all wise and cautious persons, that he would not be too secure to run himself into danger, and that he would timely withdraw himself, together with other Nobles, from the Court. But Teligny being of another mind, and saying that he was abundantly satisfied of the sincere love and good will of the King, Ferrerius, and those that thought as he he did, could not be heard.

The next day *the Page* was again examined, and new witnesses produced. In this examination Arnold Cavagnes was engaged, for so Coligny did desire, and all things were done in shew, as if there had been a diligent enquiry into the business.

The next day, when as Coligny, and by his command Cornaton in the name of his fellows (who, he said, knew for certain that the Parisians, that is LXCIJ deadly enemies of Coligny would tumultuate, and take Arms), desired of the King and his Brother Anjou, a guard of some Souldiers to be set to protect the house of Coligny, that if the people should make any disturbance, they might be restrained by fear of the King's guards, they both of them answered kindly and freely, and it was given in command to Cossenius Colonel of the Regiment of the Guards, that with some choice Bands he should keep watch before the doors of Coligny. To these were joyned, to avoid suspition, some, but few in number, of the Switzers of the guards of Navar. Moreover, for the greater security, it was ordered by the King, that the Gentlemen of the Protestants who were in the City, should lodge near Coligny's house, and it was given in command to Quarter-masters forthwith to assign lodgings: and the King gave command with a loud voice, that all might hear it, to one of the Colonels, that no Catholick should be suffered to come thither, nor should they spare the life of any that should do otherwise. Upon this occasion the Corporals went from place to place, and wrote down the names of Protestants, and  
advi-



advised them to repair near to Coligny; for that the King would have it so.

These and such like signs and whisperings abroad, though they had been enough to have warned the Protestants, if they had not been infatuated; yet by the constant dissimulation of the King it came to pass, that Coligny and Teligny could not perswade themselves that any such cruelty was in his mind. Therefore when the Nobles entered into consultation in the Chamber of Cornaton, in the house of Coligny, upon the same matter, and the Visdame of Chartres persevered in the same opinion, that they should depart the City as soon as might be, and prevent that imminent danger, though with some disadvantage to Coligny's health, who yet was that day somewhat better. Teligny was of opinion, and Navar and Conde agreed with him that they should stay in the City, otherwise they should offer a great affront to the King, that was so well affected towards them.

14. There was a suspicion lest this should be carried to the King by one that was then present, that was Buchavanius Bijancurius, one very familiar with the Queen, who presently hastened to the Tuilleries, where a Counsel was held by the Conspirators under a colour of walking; there was the last time that they consulted of the manner of executing the design. There were present besides, the King, Queen, and Anjou, the Dukes of Nevers and Angouleme, the Bastard, Biragus, Tavannes and Radefianus. And since by the death of one man whom the Physicians did affirm was like to recover of his wound, the grievance of the Kingdom, which was nourished by him, and diffused into many, could not be extinguished, it seemed good that it should be suppressed by the ruine of all; and that wrath which God would not have to be satisfied with the blood of Coligny alone, should be poured out upon all the Sectaries. That was their voluntary resolution at first, and now by the event, necessity and force is put upon their counsels, that the danger that hangs over the King and the whole Kingdom, cannot be avoided without the ruine of Coligny and all the Protestants. For what would not he do

‘do so long as the faction of the Rebels remains entire after  
 ‘such an injury? who, when he was no way provoked, was  
 ‘so long injurious to the King, and hurtful to the Kingdom?  
 ‘whom now all might foresee, and dread, going out of Paris  
 ‘with his party, as a Lion out of his den, raging against all  
 ‘without respect. Therefore the reins are to be let loose to  
 ‘the people, who are of themselves ready enough, nor ought  
 ‘they any longer to withstand the will of God, which would  
 ‘not that more mild Counsels should take effect. After the  
 ‘thing is effected, there will not want reasons whereby it may  
 ‘be excused, the fault being laid upon the Guisians, which  
 ‘they would gladly take upon them.

Therefore all agreed upon the utter ruine of the Prote-  
 stants by a total slaughter. To which opinion the Queen  
 was even by her own nature and proper design enclined;  
 some time was spent in deliberating \* whether Navar and  
 Conde should be exempt from the number of the rest; and as  
 for Navar, all their suffrages agreed upon the account of his  
 Royal Dignity, and the Affinity that he had lately contracted.  
 For that fact which of it self could not but be blamed by ma-  
 ny, would be so much the more blamed, if a great Prince near  
 of Blood to the King, joyned in a very late affinity, should be  
 slain in the King’s Palace, in the arms as it were of the King  
 his Brother-in-law, and in the embraces of his Wife. For  
 there would be no sufficient excuse, nor would those argu-  
 ments prevail to excuse the King, which might cast the blame  
 upon the Guisians. Concerning Conde there was a greater  
 debate, he lying under the load of his Fathers faults: yet  
 both the dignity of the man, and the authority of Ludovicus  
 Gonzaga Duke of Nevers, affirming that he would be loyal  
 and obedient to the King, and also offering himself as a surety  
 for him, upon the account of that close and manifold relation  
 that was between them; (for Conde had lately married Mary  
 of Cleve the Sister of Henrica Wife of the Duke of Nevers),  
 did prevail that he should be spared, and exempt from the  
 number of those that were designed for the slaughter, as well  
 as Navar.

\* The Duke of  
 Guise was ur-  
 gent to have the  
 King of Navar  
 and the Prince  
 of Conde slain  
 with the rest.  
 Dav. p. 370.  
 It was also de-  
 bated whether  
 among the rest  
 they should com-  
 prehend the  
 Marshal d’An-  
 ville, and his  
 Brothers, who  
 professed the Ca-  
 tholick Religi-  
 on, but were  
 nearly related to  
 Coligny; but  
 they were spa-  
 red, because the  
 eldest Brother  
 Marshal Mom-  
 rancy was ab-  
 sent. Da. p. 370.

15. Upon this the Duke of Anjou and Engolisme the Bastard  
 depar-

departing, as they rode in their Coach through the City, they spread abroad a rumor as if the King had sent for Momoracy and was about to bring him into the City with a select number of horse.

The very same hour there was one apprehended who was suspected of the hurt of Coligny, who confessed himself to be a servant of the Guises; which, when it was understood, Guise and Aumale, and others of the Family went to the King to remove that suspicion; and complain that they were oppressed through the favour that was shewed to their enemies: that the ears of Judges were open to calumnies cast upon them, and that tho they were guiltless, yet they were manifestly set against: that they had a long time observed that they were, for what cause they knew not, every day less gracious with the King: but yet that they did dissemble it, and hoped that time, which is the best Master of truth, would at last inform him more certainly of the whole matter. But since they find no place for their innocence, they did, though unwillingly, and as forced to it, desire that with his good leave they might return home. This was done openly, and it was observed that the King answered to these things somewhat coldly, and the rather, that he might perswade the Protestants that he bare no good will to the Guisians.

Upon this the King advisetb Navar that he should afford no occasion of mischief to the audacity and violentness of the Guisians, things being so enflamed, and the people inclining to the Guisian party. That he should command those whom he knew most faithful of his servants to come into the Louvre, to be ready upon any sudden accident; which Navar did, interpreting it in good part, calling those which were most active to lodge with him that night in the Louvre Castle.

Wise men also did presage some future commotions, when they observed armed men to run up and down about the City and the Louvre, the people to mutter, threatnings to be every where heard. This being brought to Coligny, he who no way doubted of the good will of the King, but thought it to be the devise of the Guisians to enflame the people, sends one



to the King, who should in his name acquaint him with it. To whom the King answered, that Coligny need fear nothing: for those things were done by his command, to compose the tumults of the people that were stirred up by the Guisians. Therefore, that his mind might be secure,

It was also told Teligny the very same hour, that *Porters laden with Arms* were seen to be brought into the Louvre: but he contemned the message, and answered, that unnecessary suspicions were sought for in this sad and dismal time, and forbade that this should be made known to Coligny, affecting the unseasonable reputation of prudence and moderation, from his despising of reports, and consequently of dangers: and excusing the matter, as if those Arms were carried into the Louvre upon the account of a Castle represented and assaulted in a shew.

16. Forthwith *Gnise*, to whom the chief command of the execution of the whole matter was committed, calling together in the deep of night some Captains of the Switzers, and the Captains of the French Troops, explains to them the Kings will and pleasure. 'That the time was come wherein, by the King's command, punishment should be taken upon that head that was so hateful both to God and men, and also upon the whole faction of the Rebels: that the beast was now in their toils: that they should take care that he escape not: that they should not be wanting to such an opportune occasion, of obtaining a more glorious triumph than they ever yet obtained in all their former Wars, with the blood of so many Royallists: that the Victory was easy: that rich spoils are proposed, which they might acquire without blood, as rewards of their good service.

Upon this the Switzers are placed about the Louvre, to whom are joyned the French Troops, and command was given that they should look to it, that no man of the Family of Navar or Conde should go out of the Louvre. The keeping of Coligny's house was committed to Cossenius, to whom was given a party of Musquetteers to lie in the neighbouring houses, that none might escape them.

Matters being so disposed as to the foreign Souldiers, the Duke of Guise calls to him, *John Charron*, President of the Court of Revenues, (who, after a long canvassing, and often repulses, was at last put into that Office in the place of *Marcellus* Provost of the Merchants), and commands him that he should give notice to the Corporals *to command their Souldiers to their Arms*, but that they should remain at the Town-Hall till midnight, there to understand what was needful to be done.

The same thing was given in *command to Marcellus*, who though he was discharged of his office, yet for some private good offices that he had done, was retained in the Queens favour, and kept his authority, though he lost his dignity. He by often going to the Court, brought himself into an opinion with men, that he was in favour with the King and Queen; and upon that account was acceptable to the people, and from his mouth the people, that were of themselves apt enough to stir, were certified, 'That it was the King's pleasure that they should take Arms to cut off Coligny and the other Rebels; that therefore they should see to it that none were spared, nor that those wicked men should be any where concealed. So the King will have it, so he commands, who also will provide that other Cities of the Kingdom do presently follow the example of the Parisians. *The sign* at which they should rise, is the tolling of the bell of the Palace-clock. *The Mark* whereby they should be distinguished from others, is white linen-cloath bound about their left arm, and a white cross in their hats. That good store of them should therefore be ready with arms and good courage, and take care that candles be lighted in their windows throughout all their houses: that no stir or tumult arise before the sign given.

The commands and admonitions of *Marcellus* are readily received by the Corporals, Colonels, Captains and Wardsmen of the City, who put themselves into a posture with the greatest silence that the sudden state of things would permit; setting their Guards in the streets and passages, but at first within dores. On the other part, the Duke of Guise and Ango-  
lesme

golefme did what they could that things might be done as they were ordered.

The Queen fearing lest the King, whom she thought she did observe still wavering and staggering at the horridness of the enterprize, should change his mind, comes into his Bed chamber at midnight, whither presently Anjou, Nevers, Biragus, Tavannes, Radesianus, and after them Guise came by agreement. There they immind the King, hesitating, and after a long discourse had to and fro, upbraided by his Mother, that by his delaying he would let slip a fair occasion offered him by God, of sub-

duing his enemies. By which speech \* the King finding him-  
self accused of Cowardise, and being of himself of a fierce  
nature, and accustomed to bloud-shed, was inflamed, and gave  
command to put the thing in execution. Therefore the Queen  
laying hold of his present heat, lest by delaying it should  
slack, commands that the sign which was to have been  
given at break of day should be hastened, and that the  
Bell of the nearer Church of St. German Auxerrois should  
be tolled.

\* He died in  
less than two  
years after of a  
Bloody-flux,  
proceeding, as  
was suspected,  
from poison  
given him by  
the procurement  
of his Mother  
and Brother  
Anjou. v. l. 57.

17. The Souldiers had for some time stood ready in their Arms drawn up in the streets, expecting the sign with greedy ears and desires: by whose clattering and unusual noise at so unseasonable a time, the Protestants who lodged by the King's command in the neighbouring lodgings, being awakened, went forth, and repaired toward the Louvre, where the concourse was, and enquiring of those they met what was the meaning of that concourse of so many armed men, and why so many candles were lighted, they, as they were instructed (before-hand) answered, that there was a certain mock-fight preparing, and that many from all parts did flock together to the fight. But when notwithstanding they went on further, they are injuriously repelled by the Guards that stood near the Castle, then railed upon, and reviled; lastly, they were beaten; the first blow being given by a Gascoign, and one of them having received a blow, the rest fell upon them.



\* She lived to procure the extirpation of all her Posterity, and to see the death of all her sons but Anjou, who survived her but few months, being after a furious rebellion against him by Guise and this faction, murdered by a Fryer. August 24th.

† He was slain in March following, before Rochel. l. 53.

\* He was slain 18 Apr. following, before Rochel, l. 56.

Which the \* Queen understanding, being impatient of all delay, she thence took occasion to tell the King that the Soldiers could not now be restrained, that he should command the sign from the Palace presently to be given; for it was to be feared, that if it were delayed any longer, all would be in a confusion, and things would fall out otherwise than he desired. Therefore by his command the Bell of St. Germans Church is tolled before break of day ix Kal. VII br. which day is the Feast of St. Bartholomew, and fell upon a Sunday. And presently Guise with Engolesme and † Aumale go to Coligny's house, where Cossenius kept Guard.

Mean time Coligny being awakened, he understood by the noise that they were risen into sedition, yet being secure, and even sure of the good will of the King, whether through his own credulity, or through the perswasion of his Son-in-law Feligny, he thus thought with himself; that the people were stirred up by the Guisians, but as soon as they should see the King's Guards under the command of Cossenius for the defence of him and his, as he supposed, they would immediately fall off.

But the tumult growing on, when he perceived a Gun discharged in the Court-yard of the house, then at last, but too late, conjecturing what the thing indeed was, he rose from his bed, and putting on his night-gown, he raised himself upon his feet to his Prayers, leaning against the wall. La Bonne kept the keys of the house, who being commanded by Cossenius, in the King's Name, to open the Gate, he suspecting nothing, immediately opened it; strait-way \* Cossenius going in, La Bonne meeting him, is stabbed with daggers; which, when the Switzers who were in the Court-yard saw, they fly into the house, and shutting after them the next gate of the house, they barracado it up with Chests, and Tables, and other household-stuff, one only of the Switzers being slain in that first conflict by the Cossenians, by a Musquet discharged. At last the Gate being forced open, the Conspirators strive to get up the stairs. They were Cossenius, Abinius, Corboran, Cardillac, & Sarlaboun, chief officers of the Companies, Achilles, Petruccius of

of Siena, all clad in Coats of Mail, and *Besmes* a German, educated from a child in the Family of Guise; for Guise himself, with the rest of the Nobles and others, remained in the Court-yard. In that noise, after Prayers ended by Merlin, the Minister *Coligny*, turning to those who stood about him, who were for the most part Chirurgeons, and a few of his retinue. 'I see, saith he, (with an undaunted countenance), what is doing; I am prepared patiently to undergo that death which I never feared, and which I have now long since embraced in my mind. Happy am I who shall perceive my self to die, and who shall die in God, by whose Grace I am raised to the hope of eternal life. Now I need not humane helps any longer. You, my friends, get ye hence with all the speed that may be, lest you be involved in my calamity, and your Wives hereafter with evil to me being dead, as though I were the cause of your deaths. The presence of God, unto whose goodness I commend this soul which shall shortly fly from my body, is abundantly sufficient. Which as soon as he had said, they go into an upper room, and thence through the roof every one his way.

Mean while the Conspirators, breaking open the Chamber-dores, rush in; and when as \* *Besmes*, with his sword drawn, \* *He was killed about two years after, l. 60.* asked of *Coligny* who stood by the dore, Art thou *Coligny*? He, with an undisturbed countenance, answered, I am he: but, young man, reverence my gray hairs; whatsoever thou doest, thou canst not make my life (much) shorter. While he said so, *Besmes* thrust his sword into his breast, and drawing it forth, struck him with a back-blow over the face, whereby he quite disfigured him: then with repeated blows he fell down dead. Some write that these words, shewing his indignation, fell from *Coligny* as he was dying. If at least I had died by the hand of a man, not of a scullion. But *Atinius*, one of the Assassines, repeated it so as I have written, and adds, that he never saw man in so present a danger bear death with such constancy.

[Much otherwise did Guise bear the sense of his less apparent approaching death. For when after his conspiracy and rebellion

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in the H. League against the next King, he was with such like arts as had been here used, brought into the snare which the King had laid for him, and having before neglected the warnings of his friends, at last began to be suspicious of his danger though nothing visible appeared, his vehement fear so prevailed over his dissimulation, whereby he endeavoured to conceal it, that his whole body, though he sate by the fire, shaked and trembled, and, to immind him of this present fact, a stream of blood flowing plentifully from his nostrils; as he called for a napkin, he was fain to call for some Cordials to comfort his spirits: but yet nothing of danger visible, when in the midst of this his fear and languishing, he was by one of the Secretaries, who knew nothing of the design, called into the Kings Privy Chamber, whereupon, having saluted each of the company, as if he took his last farewell of them, going directly thither, he was no sooner entred, but the dore was bolted, and one of those who were appointed for the business, struck a dagger through his throat downward into his breast, whereby his mouth was presently filled with blood, and stopped, that he could not speak, but only fetch so deep a groan as was heard with horror by those who stood by. This stroke was seconded by many others upon his head, breast, belly and groyn. And to this end he came, not as Colinius from his Prayers, but, after all his other wickedness, from his whore, with whom he had indulged the night, and therefore came later than the rest this morning into the Counsel. Thu. l. 93. It was their different lives and actions which made this difference in their deaths; for other wise Guise was a man of great courage as well as Colinius.]

\* He was afterwards stabbed to death. l. 85.

Then Guise asking Besmes out of the Court-yard, whether the thing were done? when he answered, it was done, he could not perswade Angolesme unless he saw it. Therefore Guise replying, and bidding him throw down the body, it was thrown out of the window into the Court-yard, as it was all besmeared with blood; when \* Angolesme not believing his own eyes, wiped off the blood from his face with his handkerchief, and at last perceiving it was he, and as some add, kicking the corps in scorn, going out of the house with his fellows into the way; Go to, fellow Souldiers, saith he, let us prosecute what we have so happily begun; for so the King commandeth:



mandeth : which words being often repeated, when forthwith the Bell of the Palace clock rang out ; they every where cried, Arm, arm, and the people presently ran to Coligny's house ; then the carcase after it had been abused in a strange manner, is cast into the next Stable, and at last cutting off his head, (which was sent as far as Rome), and his privy-members, and his hands, and his feet, they dragged it about the streets to the bank of Siene ; which thing he had formerly presaged by an ominous word, though he thought no such thing. When he was about to be thrown into the River by the boys, from thence he was drawn to the Gibbet of Mount Faucon, where, with his legs upward, and his body downward, he is hanged in iron-chains : then a fire is made under him, by which he is only scorched, not consumed ; that he might as it were be tormented through all the Elements, slain upon the earth, drowned in the water, burnt in the fire, and hanged in the air. There when (his corps) had been exposed for some days to the lust and rage of all spectators, and to the just indignation of many, who did boad that that rage would hereafter cost the King and all France dearly, Francis Momorancy, who had timely withdrawn himself from the danger, being near of kin, and nearer by friendship to the dead, took care that he should by some trusty men be taken down by night, and committed to the earth in a Chapel at Chantilly.

In Coligny's house were slain in the tumult whosoever they met, or found hiding themselves ; and then the Souldiers betake themselves to plunder, and breaking open Chests, they take away mony, and other precious things, only they preserve letters and papers, for so the Queen commanded.

18. Thence Nevers, and Tavannes, and Montpensier, (who joyned himself to them, through the hatred that he bore to Protestants) ride armed through the City, and spurred on the people that ran already, telling them, ' That Coligny and his Associates had laid a plot against the King, the Queen, the King's Brethren, and Navar himself, and that it was detected ' by the singular Grace of God, and that the King prevented ' them

‘ them only in time: therefore, that they should not spare the  
 ‘ bloud of those wicked men, who are the capital enemies of  
 ‘ the King and Country, but that they should fly upon their  
 ‘ goods as spoil lawfully gotten; that it was the King’s plea-  
 ‘ sure, that that pestiferous serpentine seed should be extirpa-  
 ‘ ted, that the poison of heresy being extinguished, there  
 ‘ should for the future not so much as a word be spoken of  
 ‘ any Religion but that of their fore-Fathers.

Then all being let loose to satisfy their hatreds, every one prosecuted his enemy and rival with embittered minds. Many brake into houses through desire of prey; all ran upon the slaughter without distinction. At the same time *Francis Count de la Roche-foucault*, being for his facetiousness and pleasantness in discourse very gracious with the King, when as but the day before he had, though unseasonably, drawn out the night till late in jesting with the King, and from thence betook himself to his own house, he underwent the same fate with Coligny. For *Bargius Avernus* knocks at Roche-foucault’s house, and telling him he had something to acquaint him with from the King; Roche-foucault himself commanding the dores to be unlocked, he is admitted in; when he saw men, as he thought, in disguises, supposing the King was not far off, who had sent men in jest to beat him, he beggeth them that they would deal better with him: but miserable man, he found that the thing was not to be acted in jest, but in earnest; when his house being plundered before his eyes, he himself half naked, was most cruelly butchered by one that stood by him.

Also *Teligny* the son-in-law of Coligny having, by running over the tops of houses, escaped the hands of many, and at last being espied by the Guards of Anjou, he is also slain.

*Antonius Claromonlius Marquess of Revel*, Brother, by the Mother, to Prince Porcian, who had a contest with *Ludovicius Claromonlius Buffius* of Ambois, concerning the Marquessat of Revel, came to Paris in the company of Navar, hoping there to put an end to his troublesome controversy. But the matter had a quite other end than he expected: for when

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in that tumult he fled into the house that was next to his, at length he fell into the hands of his Cousin-German, pursuing him, who being his enemy upon no other account but the matter in controversy, cruelly slew him. But not long after the controversy being brought to an hearing, sentence was given for Bussius, but with no more happy success: for by virtue of an Edict afterwards made in favour of the Protestants, the sentence was repealed, and Ludovicus himself was for a far different cause, with the same cruelty beheaded.

*Antonius Marafinus Guerschius* a stout man, who the day before had asked Coligny that he might lodge in his house, when, being in distress, he had not time to hide himself, taking his Cloak upon his arm, and drawing his sword, he for a long time defended himself against the Assassines; yet he slew none of them, being all in Coats of Mail, but at last was overpowered by the multitude.

The same calamity involved *Baudineus*, (the Brother of *Acierius*) *Pluvialis*, *Bernius*, being cruelly slain by the King's Souldiers: as also *Carolus Quellevetus* Pontius, President of Armorica, who had married *Katharina Parthenæa*, daughter and heir of *John Subizius*: but the Mother of *Parthenæa* complaining of the frigidity of her son-in-law, a Suit had been commenced to dissolve the Marriage, but was not yet determined. Therefore, when the bodies of the slain were thrown down as they were slain before the Palace, and in the sight of the King and Queen, and all the Court retinue, many Court-Ladies not being affrighted at the horridness of such a spectacle, did with curious eyes shamefully behold the naked bodies, and especially fixing their eyes on Pontius, did examine if they could by any means discover the signs of his frigidity.

*Carolus Bellomanerius Lavardinus*, the Kinsman of Pontius, and sometime Tutor to the King of Navar in his childhood, fell into the hands of *Petrus Lupus* President of the Court, a good man, who when he would have saved him, and was commanded by the Emissaries of the Court to dispatch his prisoner; he, as he was a man of a ready and pleasant wit, asked so much time as till he could raise his passion; by which

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speech



speech he for some time eluded their cruelty; but by and by a Messenger coming from the Palace as from the King, he was forced to deliver him into the hands of the Guard, who were to carry him before the King; but they in the way first stabbed Lavardinus with daggers, and then threw him over the Mill bridge into the River.

The same fortune, and in the same place ran *Claudius Gaudimelus*, an excellent Musitian in our Age: who set the Psalms of David, as they were put into verse in the Mother-tongue by Clemens Marot, and Theodoret Beza, to divers pleasant tunes, as they are now sung in the publick and private meetings of the Protestants.

*Briolius* a Gentleman who was Tutor to Marquess Conte in his childhood, venerable for his grey head, being now an old man, was likewise slain in the embraces of his Pupil, who stretched forth his arms, and opposed his own body to the blows.

Truly lamentable was the spectacle of *Franciscus Nompae Caumonius*: who had lodged in that neighbourhood, but which fortune, sporting after her manner, mingled with an event of unexpected joyfulness: he with his two sons, whom he loved with a paternal affection, being taken in bed by the murderers, who prosecuted him with his children, not through an hatred of his Religion, but through hope of gain, was slain with one of his sons: the other being all bloody with the blood that flowed upon him, saving himself from their blows, as he could at that tender age, (for he was hardly twelve years old), by the interposition of the dead bodies, dissembling himself dead, he was at last left by them for dead: a little after, more ran flocking to the house for prey, of whom some commended the fact, as well done; (for not only wild beasts, but their whelps are altogether to be destroyed); others that had more humanity, said, this might be lawful to be done upon the Father as guilty, but the innocent off spring, which perhaps would never take the same courses, ought to be spared. Among those that came toward the evening of that day, when as one did highly detest the fact, and said God would be the avenger of such impiety; the boy stretching his limbs,

limbs, and a little lifting up his head, gave signs that he was alive: and when he asked him who he was, he answered not unadvisedly, that he was the Son and Brother of the slain, not telling his name; concerning which, when he was asked again, he answered that he would tell his name, if he would lead him where he desired: and withal, asked him that he would take care to conduct him to the King's Armory, for he was near of kin to Biron Master of the Ordnance or Artillery: nor should he lose his reward for so great a benefit: which thing he carefully performed. This *James Nompar*, that is his name, with great gratitude rewarded the man brought to him by the Divine Providence, and afterwards married the Daughter of Biron, and is now chief of a Noble Family in Aquitania, Godfry Caumont his Uncle being dead, and leaving only one Daughter. Being raised by the King to great honours, of which he carried himself worthy, as Colonel of the King's Life-guard, and Governour of Bearne, he seems to be preserved from that danger by the singular Grace of God, that he might by his numerous offspring which he had by his Wife, propagate that Family that was reduced to a few, and by his virtue add the highest ornament to the honours of his Ancestors.

The same day were slain these Protestants of great note, *Loverius* thrown out of a window into the high-way, *Montamarius*, *Momalburtus*, *Roboreus*, *Joachinus*, *Vassorius*, *Cuneri*, *Rupius*, *Cobombarius*, *Velavaurius*, *Gervasius*, *Barberius*, *Francurius*, Chancellor to the King of Navar, *Hieronimus Grolorius* Governour of Aurleance, and *Calistus* his base Brother, who were both inhumanely dragged about the streets, and at last cast into the River, by the instigation of those who gaped after his office and goods.

*Stephanus Cevalerius Prunens*, the King's Treasurer in Poictou, a man of great integrity, and one that was very solicitous for the good of the Common-weal, who had been the principal mover for the building the Stone-bridge of Vienne, laid at *Eraldi-castrum*, was by certain cut-throats sent by *Stephanus Fergo Petauderius*, (who sought after his Treasurer-ship), after the payment of a great sum of mony, cru-

elly murdered, and thrown into the River, and Patanderius is, by the commendation of Monpenserius, whose affairs he managed, put into his office.

Allo *Dionysius Perrotus* the Son of *Æmilius*, Senator of Paris, (a man not less renowned for his integrity than his knowledge in law), worthy of such a Father, underwent the same fortune.

19. Nor did they spare *those whom Navar* (being advised so to do by the King) *had brought into the Palace*: for they were by the King's command made to come down from their Masters chambers into the Court-yard, and being brought out of the Palace, their swords being taken from them, they were many of them presently slain at the Gate; others were hurried to the slaughter without the Palace. Among these were *Pardallanus*, *Sammartinus*, *Bursius* and *Armannus*, *Claromontius*, *Pilius*, famous for his late valour in defending the Temple of St. John. He, when he was led out to be butchered, standing before the heaps of the slain, is said to cry out, "Is this the King's faith? Are these his promises? Is this the peace? But thou, O most great and most good God, behold the cause of the oppressed, and as a just Judge avenge this perfidy and cruelty: and putting off his Coat which was very rich, gave it to a certain Gentleman of his acquaintance that stood by; Take this from me as a remembrance of my unworthy death: which gift he not accepting under that condition. whiles *Pilius* said these things, he was thrust into the side with a spear, of which wound he fell down and died.

*Leiranus* now grievously wounded, but escaping out of the hands of the murderers, rushing into the Queen of Navars chamber, and hiding himself under her bed, was preserved; and being carefully commended by Margaret to the King's Physicians, was healed. *Bellonarius* formerly Tutor to the King of Navar, having a long time lien under the Gout, was slain in his bed.

The King received to his grace *Grammontanus* Lord of Gascoign, *Johannes Durforlius Duralius*, *Joachimus Roaldus Gamarius*, and *Buchavarius*, having promised to be faithful to him: and they were worth their word. Then



Then ~~the~~ King calls Navar and Conde, and tells them, that from his youth, for many years, the publick peace had been disturbed by often renewed wars, to the great damage of his affairs; but now, at last, by the grace of God, he had entred into such a course as would extirpate all causes of future wars. That Coligny, the author of these troubles, was slain by his command, and that the same punishment was taken, throughout the City, upon those wicked men who were infected with the poison of superstition: That he remembered what great mischiefs had befallen him from them, Navar and Conde, who had headed a company of profligate persons, and seditiously raised war against him. That he had just reason to revenge these injuries, and now also had an opportunity put into his hand; but that he would pardon what was past upon the account of their consanguinity, and the lately contracted affinity, and lastly of their age: and that he would think that these things were not done by the advice or fault of them, but of Coligny and his followers, who had already, or should shortly receive the just deserts of their wickedness: that he was willing that those things should be buried in oblivion, provided they would make amends for their former offences, by their future loyalty and obedience; and renouncing their profane superstitious Doctrine, would return to the Religion of their Ancestors, that is, to the Roman Catholick Religion: for he would have only that Religion professed in his Kingdom which he had received from his fore-Fathers. Therefore, that they should look to it that they do comply with him herein, otherwise they might know that the same punishment which others had suffered, did hang over their heads.

To this the King of Navar did most humbly beg, that no violence might be offered to their consciences nor persons, and that then they would remain faithful to him, and were ready to satisfy him in all things. But Conde added, that he could not perswade himself that the King, who had engaged himself by solemn oath to all the Protestant Princes of his Kingdom, would upon any account violate it, or hearken to their enemies and adversaries in that matter. As to Religion, that

that was not to be commanded, that his life and fortunes were in the King's power to do with them what he pleased; but that he knew he was to give an account only to God of that Religion that he had received from God. Therefore that he was fixed and resolved never to recede from his Religion, which he knew assuredly was true, no, not for any present danger of life. With which answer the King being highly provoked, he called Conde stubborn, seditious, Rebel, and the son of a Rebel; and told him, that if he did not change his mind within three days, his head should pay for his obstinacy.

20. Many of the Protestant Nobles had taken up their lodgings in the Suburbs of St. German, and could not be perswaded to lie in the City. Among these were *Johannes Roanus Fronteneus*, *Godofridus Caumonlius*, *Vidame of Chartres*, *Gabriel Mongomerius*, *Jo. Lafinius*, *Bellovarius*, *Segurius Pardallanius*, and others. The destroying of whom was given in charge to *Laurentius Maugironus*; and besides Marcell was ordered to take care that 1000 Souldiers of the City Trained-Bands should be sent thither to Maugironus, who went but slowly on in his business.

While this was doing, tidings came to *Mongomery* of the rumor of taking up Arms in the City, who signified the same to the *Vidame of Chartres*, and presently they met all together, uncertain what was to be done; for that many confiding in the King's faithfulness, perswaded themselves that this was done without the King's command, by the Guisians, encouraged by the forwardness of the seditious people, therefore they thought it was best to go to the King, and that he would succour them against any violence.

In that doubtfulness of mind (though the more prudent did not doubt that these things were done by agreement, and by the King's command) were many hours spent, so that they might easily have been destroyed, but that another impediment happened to the Conspirators; for whiles Maugironus doth in vain expect Parisians to be sent from Guise, who were all busied in plundering, Guise impatient of further delays, calls forth the King's Guards out of the Louvre, intending whiles

whiles they passed the River to go thither himself. And when he came to the gates, it did too late appear that they had mistaken the keys, therefore while they sent for others, it being now broad day, the Switzers and others of the King's Guards passing the Siene, were seen from the other side: and upon the discharging of a Gun on the other side of the River, as was thought by the King's command, the Associates take counsel to fly, and before they came, were gotten a good way off. Guise pursued Montgomery and others to Montfort, but in vain, and meeting with *Sanleodegarius*, he commands him that he should follow them with fresh horses. There were some sent to Udenicum, and to Dreux, who should intercept them if they went that way: but all in vain.

*Franciscus Bricomotius*, who could not be destroyed in the tumult, flies to the English Ambassadors lodgings, † where he for some days lay hid. *Arnoldus Cavagnius* also hid himself not far from hence, with a friend, who fearing the danger, desired him to provide for himself; but both being taken, were cast into the Palace prison, and with that event which we shall shew anon.

† In Bernardi-norum caio.

In the mean time Guise, with Aumale and Angolessme, return into the City, where the King's Guards did commit outrages upon the lives and fortunes of the Protestant Nobles and Gentlemen, even of those that were their familiars, and well known to them. This work being assigned to them in particular, whiles the people incited by the Sheriff wardsmen and tything-men that ran about, did furiously rage with all manner of licentiousness and excess against their fellow-Citizens, and a *sad and horrid face of things* did every where appear. For the streets and ways did resound with the noise of those that flocked to the slaughter and plunder, and the complaints and doleful out-cries of dying men, and those that were nigh to danger were every where heard. The carkasses of the slain were thrown down from the windows, the Courts & chambers of houses were full of dead men, their dead bodies rolled in dirt were dragged through the streets, blood did flow in such abundance through the channels of the streets, that full

*streams*



streams of blood did run down into the River: the number of the slain, men, women, even those that were great with child, and children also, was innumerable.

*Annas Terrerius Chapius*, being eighty years old, and an Advocate of great name in the Senate, was slain. Also *Jo. Lomerius* Secretary to the King, having compounded for his safety, was thrown into Gaol by *Johannes Parisiensis* Judge of Criminals, and having sold \* *his Estate at Versailles* to his adversary, with whom he had a Suit depending about it, at a low rate, and leaving his office upon the account of another, was afterwards slain by the command of those with whom he had those dealings.

\* *Versalium*  
*fundum.*

*Magdalena Briffonetta* the Relict of *Theobaldus Longiolius* (an Irish-man, Master of the Requests) Niece of Cardinal *Gulielmus Briffonettus*, and besides, a woman of most rare accomplishments, and of no mean learning, when in old apparel, taking with her her daughter *Francisca*, and *Johannes Spina* a noted Preacher, who was her household Chaplain, she would have fled out of the City, being discovered by the cut-throats, and in vain put to renounce her Religion, being thrust into the body with pike-staves, half dead, she was tumbled from the Key into the River, where swimming about, a company of boats being drawn together, as if it had been to destroy a mad dog, with many gentle blows, she was at length most inhumanely drowned: *Spina* not being known, escaped in the throng, and *CL. Marcellus* coming in, they spared her daughter for her ages sake.

*Peter Ramus*, who was born at *Vermand*, when he had for a long time taught good learning, Philosophy, & at last Mathematicks, in *Prelæa Schola*, of which he was Master, and afterward in the King's School, he at last brought erroneous doctrine into his Philosophy, vehemently opposing Aristotle both by word and writing. When as there were great disputes between him and *Jacobus Carpentarius*, *Claromontanus*, as formerly there had been greater with *Antonius Goveanus*, and *Joachinus Periomus*; yet herein he was worthy of commendation, that by his wit, diligence, assiduity and wealth, he did

did what in him lay to promote Learning, instituting a Mathematick Lecture, to which he gave out of his own Estate a yearly stipend of 300 pounds. He being drawn out of his Cell, wherein he had hid himself, by some murderers sent by Carpentar, his Rival, who also promoted the sedition, after he had payed (some) mony, receiving some wounds, was thrown out of a window into the yard, whereby his bowels gushed out; which the boys, set on by the fury of their enraged Masters, threw about the streets, and whipping his carcass with scourges in reproach to his profession, dragged it about in a most shameful and cruel manner. Which thing, when it came to the hearing of *Dionysius Lambinus*, Montroliensis, King's professor of humanity, and of both Languages, and who, by many books that he had published, deserved well of Learning, and he was otherwise no friend to the Protestant Doctrine, yet was he so affrighted at the example of Ramus, that he could not be comforted, and it made so deep an impression upon his mind, that he fell into a most grievous disease, of which about a month after he died.

From their contentions the name of *Politick* took its beginning, which afterwards became a note of faction, being given by the seditious, by those that favoured the King's party, and the peace of the Kingdom.

21. This fury did extend it self to *those that never professed the Protestant Doctrine*. For *Gulielmus Bertrandus*, *Villemorus* Master of Requests, (son of Jo. Bertrand Vice-Chancellor, and afterwards Cardinal) a good man, and liberal, and one that was injurious to none, was spoiled of his mony, and then slain by cut-throats sent by the above-mentioned Fergo.

Also *Jacobus Poliardus*, a Senator of Paris, and Fellow of the Sacred Colledge, otherwise an unquiet and quarrelsome man, and one that was troublesome to the Parisian Captains, when he had for some days lien hid in the house of a Priest, his Friend, being discovered by the prating of a Girl, was at length delivered into the hands of the murderers, and by one *Cruciarus*, (that was his name), a Goldsmith, after he had for some time kept him between hope and fear, had his head cut off. I have often beheld and heard that man that very well

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deserved a Gallows, in a strange kind of cruel madness boast, stretching forth his naked arm, that with this arm he had in that massacre slain above 400 men. Afterward, whether induced to it by repentance, or the terror of his conscience, he put on hair-cloath, and being infamous for so many murders, that he might avoid the sight of men, he went into solitude, professing the life of an Anchoret: where yet he could not forget his cruel nature: for in these late wars he was accused, and almost convicted, that by the help of such men as himself, he had cut the throat of a Flemish Merchant, whose necessity compelled him to repair to his Cell.

† Vici in Medi-  
omatricibus  
præfectus.

Lastly *Petrus Salseda* a Spaniard, † who stirred up the Cardinals war, of which we have spoken before, though he was no way enclined to the Protestant Doctrine, was the same day slain by those who sought to revenge a former injury.

[*One Ronlart a Catholick, and Canon of Nostre Dame, and also a Counsellor in the Parliament, uttering certain speeches in mistaking this lawless kind of proceeding without justice, was apprehended, and committed to prison, and murdered as disorderly as any of the rest, wherewith divers of the Catholicks themselves were offended. This manner of proceeding breedeth general mistrust in them of the Nobility, and every man feareth God's vengeance. Walsingham, Let. 16. Sept. 1572. In the Compleat Ambassador, p. 246.*]

And many of the Nobles escaped with great danger, and especially *Thoreus*, who warned Coligny when Cossenius was designed to guard him, that he could not be committed to a more deadly enemy; and that now it was true that the sheep was committed to the wolf. But it was believed that upon the account of the absence of his Brother Momorancy, he and his Brethren *Damvilla* and *Mervins* were spared. *Cossens* his life was also in danger, for that he joyned with the Momorancies, and favoured not the Guisians.

*Bironus* in the Armory fearing upon the same account what would become of him, planting two Culverins against the City, fortified himself till the fury of the people and the guards ceased.

Among



Among the Protestants that were of any note, there escaped by a rare kindness of fortune, *Joh. Saucomonius*, *Sauromarius Cugius*, *Bricomolius Junior*, and some few others, *Jacobus Crusfolius Acierius*, by the commendation of his Brother Antony † Duke of Uzès, and command of the Queen, with some † *Uticensium ducis*. others of the Nobility, were preserved by the Guisians to this intent, as it was reported; that they might cast the odium of the Massacre upon the King and the fury of the people; as though they had no other design than to revenge their private injuries upon the head of Coligny, and also that they might by such a benefit hold those whom they preserved ever obliged to them. Nor did their expectations fail them.

*Gulielmus Altamarus Fervacius* did endeavour to procure the same favour from the King for *Franciscus Moninius*, but all in vain; but he being discovered by his means, strait-way it was given in command to Marcellus to cut him off by the cut-throats. *That day were slain to the number of two thousand.*

Toward the evening *Proclamation* was made to the multitude by sound of Trumpet, that every one should betake himself to his own home, nor might any stir abroad; that only the King's Guards, and the Officers with their Troops of Horse, should go about the City upon pain of death to them that did not obey: so that when it was thought that there was an end put to those slaughters and rapines, the same massacre and liberty of plundering was continued the night following, and the days following.

22. The same day *the King*, whether troubled at the horridness, or fearing the odium of the fact, by *Letters* directed to the Governors of the Provinces, *casteth the odium upon the Guisians*, telling them "That the sedition was raised without his privity or consent: that they, as soon as they perceived 'that the friends and kindred of Coligny, whom he still called cousin, did intend to revenge the wound given him, that 'they might be before-hand with them, stirred up so great a 'party of the Nobles and Parisians, that they, by their help, 'cut off the Guards that he had assigned to Coligny, and as 'many of his friends as they met: and this example was fol-

'lowed with such fury and violence throughout the City,  
 'that such a remedy as might be wished, could not be applied  
 'in any due time. Now at last the sedition that seemed to  
 'be allayed, was again upon old grudges between the two  
 'Families, revived; which thing, since it hapned contrary to  
 'his will, he would that all should understand that the Edict  
 'lately published, was not thereby in any part violated: but  
 'he did command that it should be religiously observed, and  
 'that the Governors should see to it, that mutual slaughters  
 'shou'd not be committed in other Cities, nor that they  
 'should take Arms one against another, but that every one  
 'should keep home in the City and Countrey, and abstain  
 'from violence upon pain of death to those that did not obey:  
 In the end of the Letter these words were added; 'Here I am  
 'with my Brother of Navar, and my Cousin Conde, ready to  
 'undergo the same fortune with them. The same day were  
*Letters of the same contents written by the Queen*, sent not on-  
 ly through the Kingdom, but to the Dyet or Assembly of  
 Switzers, and dispersed by the King's command through  
 England, and divers places in Germany.

23. The next day slaughters and rapines were continued.  
*Petrus Platinus* President of the Court of Customs, a man  
 eminent for his gravity, learning and integrity, (whom one  
 Michael by name, Captain of a Band, had the day before  
 cheated of a great sum of Gold) by the help of slingers lent  
 to him by Nic. Bellosfremontius Senescæus, and Carronius  
 Provost of the Merchants, defended himself from the fury of  
 the people. That *Senescæus* was lately by the King put into  
 the place of Innocentius Triperius Monstrolius, great Provost  
 del' Hospital: under whom that Office, whose jurisdiction  
 belonged only to some mean person of the King's Retinue,  
 after that began to be conferred upon Gentlemen, as all those  
 things which belong to the Master and Colonels of the Horse.  
 He first obtained the name of great Provost, those being  
 much offended at it, who, by how much was added to him  
 in titles did complain that by so much their jurisdiction was  
 diminished. That so large jurisdiction for some time after  
 the death of Monstrolius had ceased, which at last the King con-

conferred upon Senescæus, for the Nobleness of his Family, and such learning as with us is rare in a military person. Therefore Senescæus coming this day from the King to Placius, told him that though the King resolved utterly to root out the Protestants by slaying them, that there should not remain one that pisseth against the wall, yet that for many reasons he would give him his life, and sent him to conduct him to the Louvre, for that he did desire to learn from him many things concerning the affairs of the Protestants, which it behoved him to know. Then Placius desired to excuse himself, and desired that he might stay till the fury of the people were somewhat allayed; that in the mean time he might be kept prisoner wheresoever it pleased the King. On the other side Senescæus, who had received such command from the Queen, did hasten him, that he should without delay obey the King's command, and assigned him Pezovius, one of the privy leaders of the Sedition, for his greater security as he said: by whom he was delivered into the hands of those that lay in wait, and being thrown off his Mule upon which he rode, he was stabbed with daggers: his body was dragged, and thrown into the stable of a publick house; and his house lay three days open to ransacking, his wife being fled, and his children wandring hither and thither. His office, which in his absence, in the time of war was managed by *Stephanus Nuellius*, a factious and bloud-thirsty man, and who was believed to have hired these cut-throats against the life of Placius, was by him obtained of the King.

24. Such cruelty raging every where, while the Heavens seemed more than ordinarily serene, an accident hapned whereby the minds of the enraged people were after a strange manner inflamed. An *Oxyacantha*, which is a kind of shrub which they call *white-thorn*, growing in the Church-yard of St. Innocents, did, whether of its own accord, which sometimes happens, when nature failing, that plant is come to that, that it is about to dry up; or whether by warm water poured upon it by impostors, did in an unusual time *put forth its flower*. All which, the factions flattering themselves in their madness, did refer to God, signifying by these tokens, that



that what they had done was acceptable to him. And therefore they said, that the Heavens did rejoyce to see the Massacre of the Protestants. And James Carpenter alluding to the Month, in a writing that he published, called that light *Augusta*. Therefore the seditious flocking together at the same of the blossoming thorn, did skip about with great joy: which they also testified by the unusual beating of a Drum, though without command, (for even that they might do then) and so interpreted it, as if the Protestants being rooted out, the Catholick Religion, and the Kingdom of France should recover its ancient splendor and flower. But the Protestants argued otherwise; and if this were to be looked upon as a Miracle, they said this was portended by this sign; that though the Church might seem by this wound to be utterly extinct, yet it should come to pass that it should in a wonderful and incomprehensible manner revive and flourish; which also they did confirm by the example of the wonder shewed to Moses in the bush, which, though it burned, yet was it not consumed. They added, that it might be said rather to belong to the commendation of innocence, than the approbation of butchery, because the thorn blossomed in a place which took its name from Innocents.

† Castillionem  
ad Lupam.

The same day some drawn out of the King's Life-Guard by Gaspar Castreus Nancæus, are by the King's command sent to † Chastillon, to take and bring *Coligny's wife and children*, as also the sons of Andoletus. But Francisus the Eldest Son of Coligny, and Vidus Lavallus the Eldest Son of Andoletus, had already saved themselves by flight. All the rest are taken, and brought with all their precious household-stuff to Paris.

25. It was *the King's design*, that as soon as the slaughter of Coligny and his followers had been performed, the Guises should immediately depart the City, and go every one to his own house, that thereby all might take notice, that whatsoever had been done at Paris proceeded from their faction. But the Queen and Anjou especially (who did both of them with an over-weaning affection incline to the party of Guise) did intercede: (seeing) the King was at first enraged only against

against Coligny, as not yet forgetting his flight from Meaux, drew him on, who yet wavered, to the slaughter of all the Protestants in the City; so that not knowing where he set his foot, they brought him by degrees to this pass, that he should take the whole blame upon himself, and so ease the Guisians, who were not able to bear such a burden. And to that end Anjou did, as it it was laid, produce Letters found in Teligny's desk, written by the hand of Momorancy, in which, after the wound given to Coligny, he did affirm that he would revenge this injury upon the Authors of it, who were not unknown with the same mind as if it had been offered to himself.

Thereupon the Queen and Anjou took occasion to shew the King, 'That if he persisted in his former dissimulation, 'things were come to that pass, that he would endanger the 'security of the Kingdom, his Fortunes, Riches, and Reputation. For the Guisians, who do by these Letters, and 'otherwise, understand the mind of the Momorancies, being 'men desirous of troubles, and seeking grounds of them upon every occasion, will never lay down their Arms which 'they have by the King's command taken up, to offer this injury: that they will still keep them under pretence of defending their safety, which they say is aimed at by the enemy; 'and so that which was thought to have been the end of a 'most bloody war, will prove to be the beginning of a more 'dangerous one. For the remainders of the Protestants, 'who see their matters distressed, will, without doubt, gather themselves to the Momorancies, who are of themselves 'strong, and thence will take new strength and spirits: which 'if it should happen, what a face of the Kingdom will appear, when the name and authority of the King's Majesty 'being slighted and trampled upon, every one shall take liberty 'to himself, and indulge to private hatred and affections according to his own lust? Lastly, what will foreign Princes think 'of the King who suffers himself to be over-ruled by his 'subject, who cannot keep his subjects in their duty, and 'lastly, who knows not how to hold the reins of legal power? 'There-

' Therefore there is no other way to prevent so great an evil,  
 ' but for the King to approve by his publick Proclamation, of  
 ' what was done, as if it had been done by his command.  
 ' For by this means he should take the arbitrement and power  
 ' to himself; and on the one hand disarm the Guises, and on  
 ' the other hand keep the Momorancies from taking up Arms;  
 ' and lastly should bring it about, that the Protestant affairs  
 ' now already very low, should be separated from the cause of  
 ' the Momorancies. That the King ought not to fear the  
 ' odium of the thing: for there is not so much danger in the  
 ' horridness of a fact, (the odium whereof may be somewhat  
 ' allayed by excuse), as in the confession of weakness and im-  
 ' potency, which doth necessarily bring along with it con-  
 ' tempt, which is almost destructive to Princes.

By these reasons they easily perswaded an imperious Prince,  
 who less feared hatred than contempt, that he might recall the  
 Guisians to obedience, and retain the Momorancies in their  
 loyalty, to confirm by publick testimony, that whatsoever had  
 been done, was done by his will and command. Therefore in  
 the morning, viz. upon the Tuesday, he *came into the Senate*  
 with his Brethren, the King of Navar, and a great retinue of  
 Nobles, after they had heard Mass with great solemnity, and  
 sitting down in the Chair of State, all the orders of the  
 Court being called together, ' He complained of the grievous  
 ' injuries that he had from a child received from Gaspar Co-  
 ' ligny, and wicked men falsely pretending the name of Re-  
 ' ligion: but that he had forgiven them by Edicts made for  
 ' the publick Peace. That Coligny, that he might leave no-  
 ' thing to be added to his wickedness, had entred into a con-  
 ' spiracy how to take away him, his mother, his brethren, and  
 ' the King of Navar himself, though of his own Religion,  
 ' that he might make young Conde King, whom he deter-  
 ' mined afterwards to slay likewise, that the Royal Family  
 ' being extinct, he usurping the Kingdom, might make him-  
 ' self King. That he, when it could not otherwise be, did,  
 ' though full sore against his will, extinguish one mischief by  
 ' another, and as in extream dangers, did use extream reme-  
 ' dies,



\* dies, that he might extirpate that impure contagion out of  
 ' the bowels of the Kingdom. Therefore, that all should  
 ' take notice, that whatsoever had been that day done by way  
 ' of punishment upon those persons, had been done by his  
 ' special command.

After he had said these things, *Christophorus Thuanus*, chief President, in a speech fitted to the time, commended the King's prudence, who, by dissembling so many injuries, had timely prevented the wicked conspiracy, and the danger that was threatened by it, and that that being suppressed, he had now settled peace in the Kingdom, having well learnt that saying of Lewis XI. He that knows not how to dissemble, knows not how to reign.

Then the Court was commanded that diligent enquiry should be made concerning the conspiracy of Coligny and his Associates, and that they should give sentence according to form of Law, as the heinousness of the fact did require. Then lastly *Vidus Faber Pibraccius*, Advocate of the Treasury (or Attorney-General) stood up, and asked the King whether he did will and command that this declaration should be entered into the acts of the Court, to the preservation of the memory of it? whether the orders of Judges and Civil Magistrates, which he had complained were corrupted, should be reformed? And lastly, whether by his command there should be an end put to the slaughters and rapines? To these things the King answered, that he did command the first; that he would take care about the second, and that for the third he did give command by publick proclamation through all the streets of the City, that they should for the future abstain from all slaughters and rapines. Which declaration of the King astonished many, and among the rest *Thuanus* himself, who was a man of a merciful nature, and altogether averse from blood, and feared that example, and the danger that was threatened thereby: who also did with great freedom privately reprove the King, for that, if the conspiracy of Coligny and his company had been true, he did not rather proceed against them by Law. This is most certain, he did al-

ways detest St. Bartholomews-day, using those verses of Statius Papinius in a different case,

*Excidat illa dies ævo, nec postera credant  
Sæcula, nos certe taceamus, & obruta multa  
Nocte, tegi propriæ patiamur crimina Gentis.*

So that he seems to have commended the King's art by a speech fitted to the present time and place, rather than from his heart.

The advising of the King to enquire into this conspiracy, is thought to have been from *James Morvillerius* Bishop of Orleans, who had left his Bishoprick to give himself wholly to the Court: a man of a cautious nature, but moderate and just, and who was never the author of that bloody counsel. But when as that which was done could not be undone, he thought it was best for the reputation of the King, and for the publick Peace, that since the odium of it could not be wholly abolished, yet that it might by some means be mitigated, he perswaded the King and Queen, that to the things being now done, they should, though in a preposterous manner, apply the authority of Law; and that proof being made of the conspiracy, judgment should be passed upon the conspirators in form of Law; which thing Thuanus himself approved, being consulted about it by Morvillerius upon the King's command.

Two days after a *Jubilee* is appointed, and Prayers are made by the King, and a full Court in a great assembly of people, and thanks were returned to God, for that things had succeeded so happily, and according to their desires. And the same day an *Edict* was published, wherein the King declared, that 'Whatsoever had happened in this matter was done by 'his express command; not through hatred of (their) Religion, or that it should derogate from the Edicts of Pacification, which he would have to stand still in force, and to 'be religiously observed, but that he might prevent the wicked 'conspiracy of Coligny and his confederates. Therefore, that

‘ that he did will and command that all Protestants should  
 ‘ live at home quietly and securely under his protection and  
 ‘ patronage, and did command all his Governors to take di-  
 ‘ ligent care that no violence or injury should be offered to  
 ‘ them, either in their lives, goods or fortunes; adding a san-  
 ction, that whosoever did otherwise, should understand that  
 he did it under pain of life. To these things a clause was fi-  
 nally added, which the Protestants did interpret to contra-  
 dict what he had said before; that, ‘ Whereas upon the ac-  
 ‘ count of their meetings, and publick Assemblies, great trou-  
 ‘ bles and grievous offences had been stirred up, they should  
 ‘ for the future abstain from such meetings, whether publick  
 ‘ or private, upon what pretence soever, till further order was  
 ‘ taken by the King, upon pain of life and fortunes to those  
 ‘ that disobeyed.

26. These Edicts and Mandates were diversly entertained  
 in the Provinces, according to the divers natures and factions  
 of the Governors; for those that were addicted to the party  
 of the Momorancies, made a moderate use of them, but  
 great was the rage and fury of others to whom secret com-  
 mands were brought, not in writing, but by Emissaries, fol-  
 lowing the example of the Parisian Massacre.

The beginning was at *Meaux*, as being nearest, where the  
 same day that the Massacre had been at Paris, above two hun-  
 dred were thrown into prison by *Coffetus* Advocate of the  
 Treasury, an impudent man, who was chiefly assisted by *Dio-  
 nysius Rollandus* an Apparitor, and *Columbus* a Mariner. The  
 next day they set upon the Market that is out of the City, and  
 the men being slipt away, they fell upon the women, whereof  
 25 were slain, and some of them violated by the rude mur-  
 derers. The day following, after they had every where rifled  
 the houses of the suspected, they come to those that were  
 imprisoned, who being called out one by one by *Coffetus*  
 himself, were there slain as Oxen, by Butchers, in a Slaughter-  
 house, and thrown into the Castle-ditch, and the greatest part  
 of them (the cut-throats being wearied) were drowned in  
 the River Marne. And then *Coffetus* exhorts the neighbour-  
 ing places that they should proceed in what had been so hap-



pily begun. But the presence of Momorancy President of l'Isle la France, who was then at Cantilia, not far from thence, did hinder the seditious from stirring at Senlis.

But great was the rage at *Orleans*, which being once or twice taken by the Protestants, the sad ruines of the demolished Churches lying open to the eyes of all, did enkindle the minds of the people to revenge their injuries, being yet fresh: the day following therefore they began upon *Campellus Bovillus*, one of the King's Counsellors, whom being ignorant of what had happened at Paris, Curtius a Weaver, the leader of the seditious, with some of his party, went as it were to visit in the evening; he thinking that they came as friends to sup with him, entertained them as at a feast; which (entertainment) the murderers having received, they acquaint him with what was done at Paris, and withal demand his Purse, which being delivered, they in the midst of their entertainment slay their *Hof*. From thence, as if this had been the sign given, they flock together for three days to murder and spoil; above 1000 men, women and children, as it was thought, were slain; part were cast into the river Loire: those that were slain without the City were thrown into the ditch. Great was the plunder that was taken in all that time, and especially the copious Library of *Peter Montaureus* (a learned man, who died four years since of grief of mind, at Sancerra) furnished with Books of all sorts, especially with mathematical Manuscripts, the greatest part of them Greek, and corrected and illustrated by the labours of Montaureus himself, as also with instruments useful in that Science, contrived with admirable artifice, was with a most barbarous outrage taken away.

Also some were slain at *Gergolium*, the people raging through the neighbouring Cities, Towns and Villages, after the manner of the Inhabitants of Orleance.

The same was done at *Angiers*, they beginning with *Johannes Massonius Riverius*, who was most barbarously slain as he walked in his Garden, by a cut-throat let in by his Wife, who suspected no such thing: as also others. *Barbens* Ensign of the Prince of Conde's Regiment escaped the danger by flight,  
as

as also Renatus Roboreus Bressaldus, one that was very troublesome to Priests, many of whom he had unworthily maimed, was afterwards executed.

The Townsmen of *Troyes*, of whom Coligny had a little before complained to the King, when they heard of the tumult at Paris, presently set guards at the City-gates, that none might slip forth: and having upon 3 Kal. VII bris, cast all the suspected into prison, five days after, by the command *Anna Valdræus Simphalius*, Governor of Troyes, upon the instigation of *Petrus Bellinus* (who, as was believed, came lately from Paris with private commands) they were brought out one by one, and slaughtered by the cut-throats, and buried in a ditch digged in the very prison: and presently after, the King's Proclamation, wherein they were commanded to leave of killing and spoiling, was published by Simphalius, who, as it is laid, received it before the slaughter was committed.

August 30 th.

At *Vierzon*, when as at the yet uncertain report of the news, the Gates of the City were shut up by the diversity of Letters that were sent in the King's Name, the Townsmen held their hands for some time from violence, contenting themselves to have cast the suspected into prison, till at last stirred up by the example of the men of Orleans, they raged with the same madness against the imprisoned. *Franciscus Hottomannus*, and *Hugo Donellus*, who professed Civil Law in that City, by the help of their Scholars, and especially of the Germans, escaped the present danger.

Two days after the uproar at Paris, the Regiment of Horse that belonged to Ludovicus Gonzaga, under pretence of muster, and receiving their pay, seized on *la Charite*, a Town lying upon the River Loire, below Nevers, and the people being stirred up by Letters from Paris, 18 were slain in the Town; *Petrus Mebelinus*, and *Johannes Lerus*, well known by his voyage into America, did beyond their hopes escape the hands of the murderers, and fled to Sancerre.

27. The greatest Massacre of all was at *Lions*, for in that City, as it is very populous, the Gates being presently shut, many are taken and cast into prison, by the command of *Franciscus*.

*ciscus Mandelotus*, Governor of the Town, under pretence, as he said, that the King's Guards might protect them from the rage of the people: but many while they are lead by the seditious, as if it had been to prison, are slain in the blind lanes of the Town, and presently cast into the Rivers la Saone and Rhone. The ring-leader and chief promoter of this was one *Boidonns*, a wicked debauched fellow, who afterward came to his deserved end, being executed at Claremont in Auvergne. Three days were spent in rifling houses, and finding out those that were suspected: which being done on Friday 4 Kalends of VII br. *Duperacus* (a Citizen of Lions, but lately advanced to the order of Knighthood: the honour of this order for many years being decayed, since it began to be bestowed upon unworthy persons) came from the Queen with instructions and letters of credence, bringing also letters from Claudius Rubius, and other City Officers, men of like manners, who managed the affairs of Lions at Paris, and in the Court; in which (letters) is declared what was done at Paris, and withal it was added, that the King did will and require that the men of Lions should follow the example of the Parisians. Mandelotus, a prudent man, though he was looked upon as enclined to the Guisian faction, abhorred the barbarousness of the thing, and obtaining of the urgent multitude some days truce, till he had deliberated upon the matter, and till letters came from the King, which he said he daily expected; in the mean time he made open Proclamation, that the Protestants should repair to the Major's house to hear from him what was the King's pleasure. They poor wretches coming out of their hiding places, as if they had been received into the King's protection, came to him, and by his command were committed to several prisons; for the King's prisons upon the River Rhone were not able to receive such a multitude. Upon this, *Petrus Antissiodorensis* Chamberlain of the City, a man wicked and infamous for dishonest lusts, rode post, and without letters, as if the dignity of the man had carried authority enough with him, affirms to Mandelotus, that this was the Kings and Queens will and pleasure, that the Protestants that were taken, or could be taken, should be slain

August 29 th.  
Conchiliatorum equitum  
torque donatus.

Rodanenses  
Regii.



slain, without expecting any further command: Therefore Mandelotus being overcome by the importunity of the multitude that stood round about him, to whom Antistiodorensis had told the secret, yieldeth, and turning to the messenger of so horrid a sentence, I will, saith he, say to thee Peter, what Christ heretofore said to Peter; whatsoever thou bindest, let it be bound; and whatsoever thou loosest, let it be loosed; and presently all ran to the slaughter and spoil, *Morniellus* and *Clavius*, wicked men, and ready for any mischief, joyned themselves to Boidomus. When they would have had the help of *the Common Hangman* in that matter, he refused, and said that he was ready to obey the sentence of a lawful Magistrate, but he would not meddle nor trouble himself with such promiscuous executions: when the same thing was commanded, *the guards* of the Castle, they likewise being much moved at the motion, answered with disdain, that they were no Hangmen, nor did such dishonourable employment become Soldiers: those miserable men never injured them: therefore they hired men from the Shambles, and shameless persons out of the dregs of the people; [but neither would they do it;] at length all these detesting the fact, they came to the City Train-Bands, which consisted of 300 Townsmen, who did readily undertake against their own fellow-Citizens, what hangmen and strangers had resolutely refused. Out of these Bands therefore are chosen all the veriest rake-hells, and they leading on, they ran violently to the house of the Franciscans, (this was done upon the following Lord's-day) where part of the Protestants were kept, and then to the house of the Celestines, where a great slaughter was made: while Mandelotus, with *Sallucius Manta* Governor of the Castle, ran with all speed to the tumult raised by the people in the suburbs next the River Rhone, they make an assault upon the Archbishop's house, where 300 chief Protestants were, by the Governor's order kept in prison: and first carefully examining their purses, they most barbarously slew them, praying unto God, and imploring the faith of men. A miserable sad sight! while the Sons hanging about the necks of their Fathers, and Fathers embracing their Sons, Brethren, Friends, exhorting

Supplices &  
Dei homi-  
numq; fidem  
implorantes.

one

one another to constancy, they were slain like sheep by merciless Butchers, Porters, Water-men, among the sad lamentations and horrid cries that did resound all over the City. Which thing Mandelotus in all haste returning from Guilloteria, but yet after the thing was done, seemed to be much troubled at, as if it had been done without his consent or privity; and coming to the place of the Massacre, taking the King's Officer along with him, that he might enquire into the matter in a legal way, and proofs being taken by a publick Notary, in a ridiculous dissimulation, he commanded Proclamation to be made, that those that knew who were the Authors of this outrage, should tell their names, an hundred Crowns being proposed to the informer and discoverer for his reward. In the evening the same Butchers went to the publick prison, upon Rhone, and raged against the prisoners with a new sort of cruelty; and miserably tormented them with halters put about their necks, and dragged them half dead into the River that was near. The night following is spent in slaughters and plundering; household-stuff is carried out of houses, and wares out of shops: those that hid themselves are by spies brought out of their hiding places, and many thrown into the River. Mandelotus being offended at the horror of the sight of the bodies of the slain lying in the Court of the Arch-Bishop's house, commanded them to be put into boats, and carried to the other side of the River, that they might be buried in the Church-yard of the Monastery of Aisnay, where was formerly the Altar of Lions, and sent men thither to see them buried. But the Monks said they would never suffer that, and that those carcases were unworthy of burial. Therefore, upon a sign given, there is a concourse made, and they are thrown by the enraged people into the River; the grosser bodies being given to the Apothecaries, upon their desire, for their fat, as is reported by those who wrote while things were fresh. Nor did the slaughter stay here. For not long after the (two) Brothers, *Daruii*, Merchants of great account, *Labessens*, *Galterus*, and *Floccardus*, honourable Citizens, being brought out of the prison, had their throats cut, and were cast into the River Rhone.

Among

Among these slaughters some *escaped* by the help of the guards, and the favour of Manta the Governor, among whom were *Jo. Ricaldus*, and *Antonius Callia*, Pastors of the City, when as *Joannes Anglus*, chief Pastor, was slain in the first tumult. It is said that 800 of all kinds and sexes were barbarously slain: the carcases of the slain swimming down Rhone to Turnonium, lay so thick about the banks, that the Townsmen affrighted at the accident, cried Arm, Arm, as if the enemy had been coming upon them: by and by being amazed with horror, and detesting the authors of such a villany, though they had no favour for the Religion of the Protestants, to remove that sad spectacle, they set men to thrust the bodies off with poles from the banks, which the swift stream brought down. So horrid a spectacle they also detested at Vienne, at Valence, at Burgh, at Viviers, at the Temple of the Spirit, yea, at Avenion, where there is great hatred of the Protestants. But at Arles, when through want of wells and springs they drink of the water of the River; the Townsmen, besides the detestableness of the villany, were grievously distressed; when as they would not use the fishes and water that they could be supplied with only from Rhone; yea, they abhorred the very sight of the River.

28. But in Dauphine and *Provence* things were carried after far another manner. For *Claudius Sabaudus Count of Tende*, who was very nearly allied to the Momorancies, when Letters were brought him about the same business by *Josephus Bonifacius Mola*, who two years after came to an unhappy end at Paris, ingenuously answered that he did not think that that was the King's pleasure, but that some that were evilly affected to the publick Peace, did falsely pretend his name, when as not many days since he had received quite other commands: that therefore he would rather obey the former, as more worthy of the King's Faith and Clemency. But he not long after being at Avignon, died of a sudden disease, to the great grief of the people of *Provence*, not without suspicion given him by the Emissaries of the seditious.

In *Dauphine*, *Bertrandus Simiennus Gordius*, educated in the Family of the Momorancies, receiving the same command,

H h

he

† Being executed, and his quarters set up on the City-gates.



\* In allobrogibus.

he excused himself, pretending the great danger he was like to be in from the powerfulness of Mombranius, and other Protestants in \* Savoy and Dauphine, yet some were slain at Valence.

Also at Romans there were some slain, though it were late Septembr. 22. first, viz. 10 Kal. VIII br. where, when many of that great number that was cast into the prison, for fear of death returned to the Religion of their Ancestors, only seven were stabbed with daggers by the raging people.

Also Santeranus Governor of Auvergne, who also was well affected to the Momorancies, used the same moderation, and made the same answer to those that came posting to him from Court, that the Count of Tende had done before him, adding to this moreover, that he would never obey such commands, unless the King in person did command him.

Greater was the fury that did rage at Tholouse: for news of what had been done at Paris being brought prid. Kal. VII br. which was the Lord's-day, upon which the Protestants went out of the City to Castanetum to Sermon, straitway the Gates were shut up, and care was taken that no one should go out, but that whosoever would might come in. But many of those that had gone out would not return into the City, but went thence to † le Puy, St. Laurence, Montauban, \* Regiment, and some one way, some another. Two days after, by authority of the Senate, publick Proclamation was made, that no violence or molestation should be offered to the Protestants. The day following, Guards being set at the Gates of the City, and in the Streets, those that were suspected are some of them distributed into Monasteries, others are cast into the common prisons; some days after, upon the coming from Court of Delpechius and Madronius, rich Merchants, and most bitter enemies to the Protestants, they were all thrown into the Palace prison, where presently in the night, by certain cut-throats chosen out of the Students of the Civil Law, that went to the Fencing-School, (among whom one Turrius was most eminent), together with other men of lewd life and conversation, 200 were barbarously slain, and among them some Senators, and in the first place

† Podium Laurentii.

\* Regium montem.

Johan-

*Johannes Corasius*: who afterwards, to double their cruelty, were hanged in their Senatorian habits, upon an Elm growing in the Palace-yard: the bodies of the dead were buried in a ditch made in the Arch-Bishop's house.

At the same time, but with greater slaughter, were things carried at *Rouen*, where *Tanaquilus Venator Carrugius*, the Governor of the chief Nobility of Provence, a man of a merciful disposition, did what he could to hinder it. But at last, not being able any longer to withstand the violence of the seditious, (and especially of those who, the year before, were, by the decree of the Judges, delegated from Paris, proscribed, who hoped that, by this course, they should both revenge the injury offered them, and also obliterate the memory of the Decree), many were thrown into prison, and afterwards 15 Kal. of VIII br. being called out one by one by the voice of the Cryer, were cruelly slain by those Emissaries, *Maronimus* a most wicked wretch leading them on. Upon this they set upon private houses, and that day and the day following they fell upon men & women, without distinction, and 500 of both sexes and all ages were slain, and their bodies being stripped, were cast into the ditches ad *Portam Caletensem*, and their garments all bloody as they were, were distributed among the poor, they seeking even by these murders to ingratiate themselves with the people. This the Senate was in shew offended at, and began to proceed against the Authors of this fact: but through connivance it came to nothing, the murderers and cut-throats for a time slipping out of the City.

Septemb. 17.

This example raged through other Cities, and from Cities to Towns and Villages; and it is reported by many, that † more than thirty thousand were slain in those tumults throughout the Kingdom, by several ways; though I believe the number was somewhat less.

† It was Credibly reported that there were slain above 40000 Hugonots in a few days, saith Davila, p. 376.

[In September, Castres, a City in *la Paix Albigeois*, which was held by the Protestants, when after great promises by the King for their safety, it was delivered into the hands of *Creuseta* one of the principal of the neighbouring Gentry, it was by him cruelly plundered, and laid waste.

[ In the beginning of October happened the Massacre at Burdeaux. The Author and chief Promoter of it is reported to have been one Enimundus Augerius, of the Society at Claremont, who also is said to have perswaded Franciscus Baulo, a very rich Senator of Burdeaux that he should leave his wife; and being supported by his wealth, he had founded a rich School in that City: He, when as he did in his Sermons daily inflame his Auditors, that after the example of the Parisians they should dare to do something worthy of their piety: so especially upon S. Michael's day, when he treated of the Angels, the ministers of the grace and vengeance of God, what things had been done at Paris, Orleans, and other places, he did again and again, by often repeated Speeches, inculcate, to have been done by the Angel of God; and did both openly and privately upbraid Romanus Mulus the King's Solicitor, and Carolus Monferrandus Governor of the City men of his faction, as dull and cold in this business, who contented themselves to have interdicted the Protestants the liberty of meeting together, and to have kept the Gates of the City with guards; but otherwise they wholly abstained from violence and slaughters, being admonished so to do, as is believed by Stozzius, who had a design upon Rochel, & who did fear, lest that should hinder his attempts. But when as about that time Monpesatus came to Blaye, as though the sign for effusion of blood had been given by his coming, certain men were slain in that Town. But when he arrived at Burdeaux, the people began to rage, and the seditious to run up and down. Enimundus thundered in his Preaching more than ever: at last, after some days private discourses of Monpesatus with Monferrandus, though it be uncertain whether he did discourage or perswade the thing, when Monpesatus was departed, (who) a little while after died of a Bloudy Flux. V Non. VIII br. which fell upon a Friday, the Magistrates of the City with their Officers, as they were sent, came after dinner to the house of Monferrandus, bringing with them lewd & impudently wicked men, who were drawn together by Petrus Lestonacus, and receiving the word of command from him, they ran through the City to the slaughter, being distinguished by their red Caps, a sign very agreeable to their bloudy design. They began with Joannes Guillochius, and Gul. Sevinus, Senators, who were both cruelly murdered

Octobr. 3.



*murdered in their houses, which were presently rifled. Also Bucherus the Senator, who had redeemed his life of Monferrandus for a great sum of money, did hardly escape the danger, whose house was also plundered. Then promiscuous slaughters and rapines are committed for three days together throughout the City, wherein two hundred sixty four men are said to be slain, and the Massacre had been much greater, had not the Castle of Buccina and the other Castle of the City yielded an opportune place of refuge to many. Jacobus Benedictus Longobastonus President of the Court was in great danger of death, and was hardly preserved by the help of his friends.]*

29. Nor were they in the mean time in quiet at Paris and at Court, where, by the Queens special command, and the diligence of Morvillerius, Coligny's Cabinet was examined, if by any means they might find any thing in them which, being published, might take off the odium of so bloudy a fact either in the Kingdom or with foreign Princes. Among those Commentaries which he did every day diligently write, which were afterwards destroyed by the Queens command, there was a passage in which he advised the King that he should be sparing in assigning the hereditary portion, which they call Appennage, to his Brethren, and in giving them authority, which having read, and acquainting Alanfon with it, whom she had perceived to favour Coligny; This is your beloved cordial friend, saith the Queen, who thus advised the King. To whom Alanfon answered, 'How much he loved me, I know not; but this advice could proceed from none but one that was faithful to the King, and careful for his affairs.

Again, there was among his papers found a breviate, wherein, among other reasons that he gave for the necessity of a War with the Spaniards in the Low-Countreys, this was added, as being omitted in the Speech which he made to the King, lest it should be divulged, and therefore was to be secretly communicated to the King, that if the King did not accept of the condition that the Low-Countreys offered, he should † not transfer it to his neighbours of England, who, though they were now, as things stood, friends to the King, if

† V. Walsingham's Letter 14 Septemb. 1572. in the Compleat Ambassador, p. 241.

once

once they set footing in the Low-Countreys and the Provinces bordering upon the Kingdom, would resume their former minds, and being invited by that conveniency, of friends would become the worst enemies to the King and Kingdom. Which being likewise imparted to Wallingham, Queen Elizabeths Ambassador, and the Queen telling him, that by that he might judge how well Coligny was affected towards the Queen his Mistress, who so much loved him. He made her almost the same answer, and said, 'He did not know how 'he was affected towards the Queen his Mistress; but this he 'knew, that that counsel did favour of one that was faithful 'to the King, and most studious of the honour of France, and 'in whose death both the King and all France had a great 'loss. So both of them, by almost the same answer, frustrated her womanish policy, not without shame unto her self.

About the end of the month wherein Coligny was slain, *the King* fearing lest the Protestants should grow desperate in other Provinces, *writes to the Governors with* most ample commands, and principally to *Feliomrus Chabolius* President of Burgundy, in which he commanded that he should go through the Cities and Towns that were under his jurisdiction, and friendly convene the Protestants, and acquaint them with the tumult at Paris, and the true causes thereof. 'That nothing 'was done in that affair through hatred of their Religion, or 'in prejudice to the favour that was granted them by the last 'Edict: but that he might prevent the conspiracy made by 'Coligny and his confederates against the King, the Queen, 'the King's Brethren, the King of Navar, and other Princes 'and Nobles. That it was the King's pleasure that his Edicts 'might be observed, and that the Protestants every where 'taking forth Letters of security from the Presidents, should 'live quietly and safely under the King's protection, upon 'pain of death to any that should injure or molest them in any 'thing. On the other hand, he should admonish the Protestants 'that they should keep themselves quiet at home; and because 'in their Meetings and publick Assemblies there used to be 'such Counsels among the Protestants as were suspicious to Catho-

‘Catholicks, and which might put them upon new stirrs, therefore, that they should abstain from those meetings, and expect the same favour and safety from the King’s clemency and goodness as he doth exercise towards others. But if they should foolishly neglect this advice, command and promise of the King, and should presume to meet publicly, stir up troubles, and take up Arms under colour of their own defence, he would then proceed against them as against Rebels. To the same effect were Letters sent to *Melchior Mompesatus*, President of Poictou, *Pria* President of Toures, and the Presidents of other Provinces. *Chabotius* managed his office with great prudence and moderation, having learnt that the Protestants, who had hitherto been exasperated by severity and cruelty of punishments, might be better reduced to their duty by clemency and mildness. And matters were ordered without almost any blood-shed in *Burgundy*; many returning either through fear, or of their own accord, to the Religion of their Ancestors, renouncing the Protestant Doctrines. Only *Claramontius Travius* of the prime Nobility, whose Sister *Helena Antonius Grammontanus* had married, was, when the news was hot, slain at *Dijon*, in the absence of *Chabotius*, by the people. Those that were suspected at *Muscon*, being by the King’s command apprehended and cast into prison by *Philibertus*, sustained no further damage.

30. So foul a tempest in France being in some sort allayed, and the liberty of killing and plundering repressed, when the more prudent, that yet no way favoured the Protestant party, did, upon the sad thought of the present state of things, by little and little, come to themselves, and abhorring the fact, did curiously enquire into the causes of it, and how it might be excused, they thus judged, ‘That no example of like cruelty could be found in all Antiquity, though we turned over the Annals of all Nations. These kinds of outrages had been confined to certain men, or to one place, and might have been excused by the sense of injury newly offered, or their rage did only exercise it self upon those whom it was their interest to remove out of the way. For so by the command of *Mithridates* King of Pontus upon one message, and the signifi-



The Sicilian  
Vespers.

signification of one Letter 40000 Romans were slain in one day throughout all Asia. So *Peter King of Arragon* commanded 8000 French-men to be slain in Sicily, who had seized upon it in his absence: But their case was far different from this: For those Kings exercised their rage upon strangers and foreigners, but this (King) upon his own subjects, who were not more committed to his power than to his faith and trust. They were obliged no otherwise by their faith given than to the strangers themselves, but he was bound in a late league with his neighbouring Kings and Princes, to keep that Peace which he had sworn to. They used no arts unworthy of royal dignity to deceive them, he for a snare abused his new engaged friendship, and the sacred Nuptials of his own Sister, whose wedding garment was even stained with blood. These are the vertues that use to be commended in Kings, Justice, Gentleness and Clemency; but savageness and cruelty, as in all others, so especially in Princes use to be condemned. Famous through all ages was *Publius Scipio*, who was wont to say he had rather save one Citizen, than slay a thousand enemies; and *Antonius*, who was called the Pious, did often use that saying. Kings indeed have power of life and death over the Subjects of their Realm, but with this limitation, that they should not proceed against them till their cause was heard upon a fair tryal. This rage and blindness of mind was sent by God upon the French, as a judgment for the daily execrations and reproaches of the Deity, from which the King himself, ill educated by his Mother, and by those Tutors that she appointed him, did not at all abstain; the example whereof proceeding from the Court to the Cities, and from the Cities to the Country Towns and Villages, they now at every third word, swore by the head, death, blood, heart of God. Moreover, the patience of God was even wearied with their Whoredoms, Adulteries, and such lusts as are not fit to be spoken. Lastly, nature it self doth now expostulate as it were with God for his so long patience and forbearance, nor could the Country of France any longer bear such prodigious wickedness. For as for the causes which are pretended against

against Coligny, they are feigned with such improbability, that they can hardly perswade children, much less can they be proved. For how is it probable that Coligny should enter into such a conspiracy within the walls of Paris, who though he were guilty before the Pacification, (to suppose that), yet certainly after the Edict, if indeed the publick Faith and the King's promises ought to be observed, he came to the King guiltless, altogether abhorring a Civil War, and solicitous only about the Belgick War? But whereas they say he conspired after he had received his wounds, this hath less colour of truth. For how could Coligny that was indisposed by two such wounds, now grown old, disabled in both his arms, one of which the Physitians talked of cutting off, rise with three hundred young men that attended him, against an Army of sixty thousand men, that bare him deadly hatred, and that were well appointed with Arms? How could he in so little time consult concerning so great and vast a design? for he lived hardly forty houts after he had received his wound, in which all conference was forbidden him by his Physitians. Then, had he been accused of any crime, was he not committed to Cossenius and his guards, and the passages being every where secured, was he not in the King's power, that he might in a moment, if it had so pleased the King, been thrust into prison? and witnesses being prepared, after the manner of judicial proceedings, might he not have been proceeded against in form of Law? Moreover, if Coligni with his Dependents and Clients had conspired against the King, why must needs the rest that were innocent, so many Noble Matrons and Virgins who came thither upon the account of the Marriage, so many great-bellied women, so many ancient persons, so many bed-ridden persons of both Sexes and all professions, that were ignorant of these last counsels of Coligni, be comprehended in the same guilt? To whom doth it not seem absurd and most ridiculous that Coligni should at so unseasonable a time conspire against Navar that professed the same Religion with him, and whom he had in his power for four  
I years

' years together? Thus many did discourse, and so they  
 ' judged, that upon the account of this fact the French Name  
 ' would for a long time labour under an odium and infamy,  
 ' and that posterity would never forget an act of so great  
 ' unworthiness.

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*Typographical Errors to be Corrected as  
 followeth, in*

**T**he Hist. of the Massacre: Pag. 5. l. 1. Burleigh, l. 7. Cosmus, p. 7. l. 4. compact, p. 8. l. 10. when he, l. 36. Palace near the Louvre, p. 12. l. 1. receive, p. 13. l. 28. Antonius Marafinus Guerchius (*without commas*), so p. 14. l. 2. Rochus Sorbæus Prunæus, l. 7. Armanus Claromontius Pilius, l. 8. Moninius, l. 26. racket, p. 18. l. 7. your Kingdom, p. 21. l. 9. as he did, p. 28. l. 11. Cossenius, l. 36. Atinius, l. 37. Sarlaboux, p. 29. l. 5. Merlin the Minister, Coligny, p. 32. l. 32. Claromontius Marquess of Renel, p. 34. l. 19. Caumon-tius, p. 35. l. 25. Montalbertus Roboreus, Joach. Vassorius Cunerius, Rupius, Columbarius, Velavaurius, Gervasius Barberius Francurius, p. 36. l. 15. Armanus Claromontius Pilius, l. 32. Bellovarius, l. 36. Durfortius Duracius, l. 37. Gomacius & Buchavanius, p. 40. l. 36. Perionius, p. 41. l. 13. Languages, *who had private feuds and contentions with Carpenter*, & l. 22. to those, l. 30. Roliardus, p. 43. l. 2. Sancomontius Sauromanius, l. 3. Bricomotius, p. 53. l. 33. Meletinus, p. 57. l. 17. Arles, where, l. 36. suspicion of poison given, p. 58. l. 2. Mombrunius, p. 62. l. 20. Helionorus Chabotius, p. 63. l. 11. Chabotius.

**T**he Hist. of the Powder-Plot: Pag. 8. l. 27. Harrington, p. 14. l. 30. detest, p. 15. l. 21. for wikes, r. *de Vic*, p. 16. in marg. So on the, p. 22. l. 27. dele Book entituled, l. 29. for Provincial, r. *Father General*.



